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ABSTRACT

The five studies on education for rural development are directed to teachers, administrators, and others concerned with education in rural areas in their efforts to raise the social and economic status of the rural poor. The Indian study discusses the problem of wastage at the primary school level (with specific reference to Tamil Nadu), and clearly reveals that socio-economic and psycho-educational factors cause a major percentage of educational wastage. The Indonesian study is intended to reorient rural education to the new goal of rural development, but finds that the income disparity between the rich and the poor tends to counteract the equalizing effect of education. The Nepalese report accepts that formal and non-formal education are the two most critical components of a development programme but sees these two components faced with many problems. The Philippines report emphasizes the importance of formal and non-formal education in solving rural problems, and reveals that although both have their own usage, total socio-economic development makes it imperative for both systems to inter-relate, starting at the community level. The report of the Republic of Korea finds that rural primary education is basically urban-biased and to a large extent irrelevant to rural life. (BRR)

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EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT -A Portfolio of Studies

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Volume 1 Education and the rural community

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The portfolio on "Education for rural development" consists of five volumes:

Volume 1 – Education and the rural community

Volume 2 – Education for disadvantaged women

Volume 3 – Health and nutrition education

Volume 4 – Manpower, science and technology and extension education

Volume 5 – Inter-agency and inter-institutional co-operation

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PREFACE

The developing countries of the world today, particularly in the Asian region, are passing through a critical period. Most countries are faced with the problems of growing population, recurrent food shortages, illiteracy, malnutrition, environmental pollution and economic and social disparities. There is a big gap between those living in the urban and rural areas. The rural poor, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are often neglected and deprived of the benefits to which they are entitled within their own societies. Thus the majority of them are malnourished and in poor health, illiterate or with a low level of education and with low income. The picture is even more gloomy with respect to women. This unhappy situation stems from a variety of factors, psychological, cultural, social, educational, economic and political.

The plight of these impoverished men and women has been felt by all the governments and several national and international agencies. Ways and means to solve the problems have been proposed and actions taken under various kinds of projects. There is a call for priority to be placed on agrarian reform and direct aid to the rural poor and for improvisation of simple low-cost technology to increase production and improve the processing of food and the living standards of the rural poor. Attempts have also been made to extend the services of government such as health and nutrition and education services and agricultural extension services. But in most cases these services do not reach the low income and deprived groups, either because they are not aware of the services available and do not know how to make use of the services or because of other socio-economic reasons.

In the area of education there has been a shift in priorities which entails more emphasis on distribution of educational services and equality of access to education. This change is prompted not only by humanitarian concerns, but also by important political and economic considerations. Dissatisfaction with the inability of the existing education system to cope with the problem of disparities has impelled the search for alternatives to formal education. Education for rural development as a new concept in education has been introduced. It is the kind of education which covers activities where educationists, community leaders and other groups are prepared to collaborate effectively with other agencies within a broadly-conceived multi-dimensional programme of rural transformation. The focus of the activities is on the development of rural communities. Education for rural development, i.e., education linked with the programme of rural development, is provided mainly through informal and non-formal modes, while at the same time linkages are established with the formal education system. The nature of the educational programme is dictated by the "total rural development" programme, its multi-agency character and multi-pronged approach to the problems. As seen in the countries in Asia, a non-formal educational programme includes a variety of aspects of education such as health and nutrition, agriculture, general education and skills development. In some countries science and technology education in the form of extension or out-of-school education is provided as an instrument for sustained improvement of technology in rural areas. Special programmes for women and deprived groups have

also been launched to remove the socio-economic disparities between men and women as also between the privileged and underprivileged sections of the two groups.

This portfolio is a compilation of studies which reflect different facets of the concept of education for rural development. The thrust is towards improving and transforming the economic and social life of the rural poor, where the basic human services are critically important – food, nutrition, health and education.

The publication is in five volumes, each of which is preceded by an introduction which gives the summary of the volume.

The first volume describes in brief the status of rural education in five countries, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, and the Republic of Korea. Problems in rural education in the countries and ways to solve such problems are also discussed.

In the second volume, experiences of two countries, India and Thailand, in the education of disadvantaged women are presented, showing how educational programmes are planned to minimize the disparities between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

The third volume deals with the problems of health and nutrition education in general, and the case study of the nutrition education programme in Indonesia and a study on research findings in health education in the Philippines in particular.

Volume 4 of the publication presents three studies on three aspects of rural development. The first is on manpower planning and training programmes for self-employment in rural areas. The second study discusses out-of-school science and technology for rural development, and provides examples of linkages between science activities and rural development. The third study is on extension education aiming at integrated rural development.

In the last volume of this publication, two studies on inter-agency and inter-instructional co-operation in rural development are presented, one by Pakistan and another by Thailand.

The Asian Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID) is grateful to the authors of the studies for their contributions to the preparation of this portfolio. It is published in the hope that it will be of help to teachers and administrators as well as those concerned with education in rural areas in their efforts to raise the social and economic status of the rural poor.

INTRODUCTION

Five studies on education for rural development are presented in this volume. The first study discusses the problem of wastage at the primary school level in India, with specific reference to Tamil Nadu. As found in the study, wastage is due to both internal and external factors. An analysis of the factors of wastage clearly reveals that socio-economic and psycho-educational factors cause a major percentage of educational wastage. In the socio-economic sub-system, poverty causes nutritional and cultural deprivation, leading to experience of failure and feeling of insecurity. In the psycho-educational system, rigid formal content and methods combined with inflexible teacher expectation and examinations cause feelings of insecurity. To cope with the problem, a new innovative programme known as the Package Plan has been launched. This plan consists of diversified programmes which include transfer of appropriate technology, non-formal education, health and family planning, nutrition and education programme, environmental sanitation, book bank and study circles and work experience. Various national and international agencies co-operate in carrying out the programmes. Research projects are also launched to facilitate the development and implementation of the programmes.

The Indonesian study, the second paper, is intended to reorient rural education to the new goal of rural development, i.e., to develop a society with more equitable income and to focus on the rural poor. The study indicates that the income disparity between the rich and the poor tends to counteract the equalizing effect of education. Inequalities are not inherently the outcome of an education system, but of the institutional and social structure which constitutes the context of the system. In this connection, it goes without saying that education is only a component of concerted development actions. Other measures should also be carried out to ensure an equitable distribution of rural income. In the area of education, non-formal education has greater potential to enhance the standard of living of the rural poor. Its flexible character makes it easier to adapt its curricula to meet specific job requirements, and therefore makes it easier to relate it to income-generating job opportunities. Due to the inability of the government to fully provide non-formal educational opportunities, co-operation with private institutions, social organizations, ordinary citizens or enterprises is needed. Three cases are presented in the study which exemplify possible alternative measures of rural education which will help to achieve the new goal of rural development.

The Nepal report, which is the third study, accepts the fact that both formal and non-formal education are the two most critical components of a development programme. But due to organizational, socio-economic and cultural shortfalls, these two components are faced with many problems. For formal education the problem is to provide access to schooling to all children of school-going age. It is not only economic reasons that keep children away from school; there are also socio-cultural values that oppose formal education. In non-formal education the problem lies in the establishment of co-ordination and complementarity with other rural development programmes. For effective rural education development, both formal and non-formal, community participation in the planning process, and in multi-purpose integrated planning and implementation is regarded as important. In addition, multiple channels of information and

innovative experiences should be provided to facilitate increased community participation. Furthermore, in order to ensure the conduct of the development process on a sustained basis, local institutions must be established and strengthened. These institutions must not be simply detailed agencies of the central government, but those of the local people which are competent to plan, implement and evaluate development programmes on a continuous basis.

The report of the Philippines, which is the fourth study in this volume, emphasizes the importance of formal and non-formal education in solving rural problems of the country. The study reveals that although formal and non-formal education have their own usage, total socio-economic development makes it imperative for both systems to inter-relate, complement and supplement each other, and this must start at the community level. Support is also needed from appropriate institutions, both government and non-government. In the Philippines, inter-relating formal and non-formal education has been mandated in various decrees and instructions emanating from the Office of the President of the Philippines as well as from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Non-government agencies provide support in various areas like health, education, vocational training, skills training, welfare and social services. They operate as clubs, associations, societies, and leagues. The co-ordination and co-operation of different agencies for rural development is one of the most crucial problems. A committee should be set up at every level of administration comprising representatives of all the agencies concerned. In order to achieve satisfactory results, local initiative and leadership should be encouraged and resources properly utilized.

The critical issues and problems of education in the Republic of Korea as stated in the last study can be found in urban as well as in rural areas. Rural primary education is basically urban-biased and to a large extent irrelevant to the life one may want to lead in the rural sector. This is one of the problems which has not been given serious attention. Another problem is related to the quality of education. Due to a rapid rise in rural to urban migration, students in both primary and secondary schools are decreasing in number and subsequently the number of teachers diminishes. Thus classrooms are left empty but the supply of teachers is short, equipment for education is limited and the quality of education declines. At the secondary level some technical training is offered, nevertheless, the kind of technical training needed by rural youth for employment and a lasting career in the rural communities is restricted to the very small portion of agricultural schools. Even if one graduates from technical high schools other than agricultural schools, it does not help employment in rural areas. In considering changes in rural education it is suggested that the first and foremost issue to be tackled is the question of relevance. Rural education should be oriented to inculcation of values and aspirations among the youth, so that they could come to cherish their rural origin and a future in the rural sector. The education programme should be meaningful and meet the needs of the rural people. The quality of education should be improved. This means both the equipment and the teachers.

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	i
Introduction to Volume 1	iii
Education for integrated rural development: Problem of wastage at the primary level of education in Tamil Nadu State, India, by K. Venkatasabramanian (India)	1
Education and the rural community, by Moeljarto Tjokrowinoto (Indonesia)	27
Education and the rural community, by Bihari K. Shrestha (Nepal)	39
Education and the rural community, by Felicita G. Bernardino (Philippines)	49
Education in and for rural development in the Republic of Korea: problems and issues, by Kyong-Dong Kim (Republic of Korea)	65

EDUCATION FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT : PROBLEM OF WASTAGE AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU STATE, INDIA

by

K. Venkatasubramanian*

It will be more and more difficult to dissociate economic objectives from social objectives and educational policies will have to make increasing allowances for their closer interaction. . . . The different predominant features of the years to come will highlight broader development efforts, strong action to aid agriculture and rural regions in general, a more enlightened public opinion and more active participation of large segments of the population.

Learning To be (pp. 29-30)

Primary education and development

The importance of education in economic development has been realized by the economists since the period of Adam Smith. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, the Director General, Unesco, has rightly said at the meeting of the senior officials of the Ministry of Education of the 25 least developed countries, Paris (8th September 1975), "Education is regarded as a prime factor in development not only because it provides the means of training the national leaders and specialists who are essential in the conditions of present-day technology but also because it is an essential element in enabling a nation's people as a whole, to arrive at a better appreciation of their situation and of the constraints to which they are subject, so that they may more successfully take charge of their own destiny."[1]

Education encourages the transfer of new skills to the members of the labour force so that they can make use of new productive techniques which are related to economic development. Education also influences economic development through changing the attitude of consumers, workers and management.

Primary education becomes the lever of development, because the basic skills in reading, writing and computation imparted in the primary stage are indispensable for the formation and development of specific skills. The end result of primary education is 'effective permanent literacy' which leads to mobility, productivity and innovativeness.

Mary Bowman and C.A. Anderson[2] established the relationship between literacy and GNP. They found that countries which had a GNP over $ 300 invariably had literacy over 40 per cent.

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1 *United Nations Economic and Social Council E/ICEF/L.1358*, 15 February 1977. p. 9.

2 *Readings in the economics of education*, Paris, UNESCO, 1968.

In India, Chaudhury[3] obtained a positive relationship between literacy and yield per worker, literacy and yield per acre, and primary education and yield per acre. He also analysed the other causal links. He found education of farmers and demand for fertilizers are positively correlated.

Using a Cobb Douglas production function Baldev Singh[4] showed that the level of farm production is significantly higher on farms where the decision maker is literate.

A rank order correlation analysis made by Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian[5] in respect of developmental districts of Tamil Nadu clearly showed significant positive correlation between agricultural production per work force in agriculture and literacy. The co-efficient was 0.4295.

Integrated rural development

Rural development is a major factor of national development of any country since a large percentage of people live in rural areas. The International Council for Educational Development[6] (ICED) adopted from the outset a comprehensive view of rural development that embrances all the main dimensions of personal and economic development and of family and community life improvement. This broad view equates rural development with the fundamental transformation of rural societies – socially, economically and politically. Seen in this perspective the sharp distinction made in the past between social and economic development and between development sections is forced to give way to a more integrated view of rural development.

Vital role of education in rural development. The Unesco report of the preparatory meeting for an advanced level workshop on Education for Rural Development held at Jakarta (24-28 August 1976) lucidly and categorically pointed out that "for successful implementation of schemes for rural development of which education is only one major input, there is a great need of co-ordination between different ministries, governmental organizations and voluntary agencies which are all involved in the task."[7]

Rural development could be achieved through various interacting forces, of which education is the major force. Education here indicates not merely schooling but a wider connotation of life long experience. In fact it embraces any realm of education, formal or non-formal, and it may aim at general basic education or development of certain basic skills and know-how for professional advancement.

Integrated systems approach. Piecemeal measures to achieve rural development will not yield the expected results, because rural development has several components which interplay with each other, and any step to change one component will affect the

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[3] Chaudhry, D.P. 'Education of farmers and productivity' in H.N. Pandit (Ed.), *Measurement of cost productivity and efficiency of education*, New Delhi, NCERT, 1966.

[4] Singh, Baldev, 'Impact of education on farm production', *Economic and Political Weekly* IX(39): A-92, September 28, 1974.

[5] Venkatasubramanian, K. *Educational and economic development in India* (Ph.D Dissertation), Delhi-6, Frank Bros., 1980.

[6] Ahmed, M. and P.H. Coombs, *Education for rural development*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1977. p. xxvii.

[7] *'Education for rural development'*, report of the Preparatory Meeting, Jakarta, Indonesia, August 1976.

other component. Therefore a systems and gestalt approach will be necessary. The specific objectives of educational and rural development should be well-defined. The local resources should be considered as inputs and care should be exercised in selecting the proper input to achieve the output.

Objectives. In order to achieve the general objectives of stable economy, better physical facilities, social cohesiveness and political awareness, P.H. Coombs and M. Ahmed[8] suggest the following specific objectives of education and rural development:

(a) To achieve literacy, numeracy, an elementary understanding of the physical and social environment;

(b) To impart knowledge, skills and attitudes which may help improve the quality of family life, about such subjects as health and nutrition, home making and child care, home repairs and improvements, family planning and so on;

(c) To strengthen local and national institutions through instruction in such matters as local and national governments, co-operatives, community projects and the like;

(d) To develop particular knowledge and skills associated with various occupations important in the rural context.

Different approaches in Education for Rural Development. P.H. Coombs and M. Ahmed describe the following four categories:

(a) *The extension approach:* Specialized outside agencies try to diffuse knowledge among the villagers through various methods;

(b) *The training approach:* Institutionalized and systematic training programmes are organized and instruction is provided;

(c) *The co-operative, self-help approach:* This is based on the assumption that the complex process of rural transformation must begin with changes in the rural people themselves in their attitude towards change, in their aspiration for improvement and, above all, in their perception of themselves and their own inherent power, individually and collectively, to better their condition; and

(d) *The integrated development approach:* This implies over all rural development bringing all components under a single umbrella of management so as to facilitate better co-ordination and co-operation.

These four approaches are not operating in watertight compartments but these could function as complements to each other. The first two approaches assume that rural folk cannot diagnose their needs and problems. It presupposes that only external agencies can bring in the desired change.

The third approach emphasizes the developmental endeavour on the part of the villagers and their participation in their programmes. It provides ample opportunity for internal leadership training.

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[8] Coombs, P.H., and M. Ahmed, *Attacking rural poverty*, Baltimore, Md., John Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Change in conditions of rural India

Mahatma Gandhi, made a pointed reference to village organization in *Young India:*[9] "Village organization seemed a simple word, but it meant the organization of the whole of India, in as much as India was predominantly rural." Gandhiji referred to the writings of Henry Maine on Indian village communities and said: "Indian village life had so much vitality and character that it had persisted all these long years and weathered many a storm. . . . These villages were so many village republics, completely self-contained, having all that one may want, schools, arbitration boards, sanitation boards, and no Poor Law indeed but ample provision for the relief of the poor."

Gandhiji referred to the treasures of art that the genius of the Indian villager had produced and said: "The villager then learnt from his parents by word of mouth all the wisdom that he should learn."

Gandhiji asked with a sigh: "What has come over this land that all these beautiful things are not to be found anywhere, that instead of these self-contained villages of a few hundred years ago, we find villages dependent for their very necessities of life. The whole village life was broken. People were dying by millions, of malaria, hookworm and other diseases, all brought about in insanitation, deep poverty, sloth and idleness."[10]

Multifarious factors such as the population explosion have impinged upon the rural life and have accelerated the improverishment of the villagers by further fragmentation of land holdings. Under such changed conditions, out of the 79.5 per cent of the Indian population living in rural areas, millions live far below the poverty line.

Rural population in Tamil Nadu

The percentage of rural population in Tamil Nadu in 1961 was 73.31 and in 1971 it was 69.74. Though there is a reduction in the percentage of rural population in absolute figures, the total number of people living in rural areas has increased and nearly 50.94 per cent live below the poverty line.[11]

Literacy rates

The educational backwardness of rural areas could be understood by the literacy rates and the variation between urban and rural literacy rates. The literacy percentage for urban areas of the State of Tamil Nadu is 56.73 while that for rural areas is 31.83, a difference of nearly 25 percentage points. In fact in certain districts the difference is more.

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[9] *Young India*, September 17, 1925.

[10] Malaviya, H.D, *Village Panchayata in India*, New Delhi, Economic and Political Research Department, All India Congress Committee, 1956.

[11] *Bulletin of Madras Development Seminar series*, V (7): July 1975.

Correlation of primary education with indices of rural conditions

Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian[12] analysed in his doctoral study the relationship between educational and various socio-economic correlates. The significant correlation coefficients related to rural education are shown below:

	Correlates	Co-efficient	Significance level
Literacy percentage of males	No. of inhabited villages	−0.601	0.05
"	Percentage of rural population	−0.590	0.05
"	Percentage of agricultural workers	−0.788	0.01
Literacy percentage of females	No. of inhabited villages	−0.613	0.05
"	Percentage of rural population	−0.609	0.05
"	Percentage of agricultural workers	−0.807	0.01
Percentage of rural population	Agricultural workers	0.815	0.01
No. of inhabited villages	Percentage of rural population	0.587	0.05
"	Total scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population	0.565	0.05
"	Percentage of agricultural workers	0.741	0.01

These vital correlation coefficients indicate the relationship among various factors of rural conditions. The same study showed a significant relationship between educational factors and factors of rural conditions.

	Correlates	Co-efficient	Significance level
Enrolment ratio (VI-VIII)	Literacy percentage	0.952	0.01
"	No. of inhabited villages	−0.481	0.05
"	Percentage of rural population	−0.442	Near significance
"	Percentage of agricultural workers	−0.714	0.01
School facility index (I-V)	Literacy percentage	0.740	0.01
"	Percentage of rural population	−0.596	0.05
"	Percentage of agricultural workers	−0.677	0.01
School facility index (VI-VIII)	Literacy percentage	0.834	0.01
"	Percentage of rural population	−0.679	0.01
"	Percentage of agricultural workers	−0.732	0.01

12 Venkatasubramanian, K, *Education and economic development in India*, Delhi, Frank Bros., 1980.

This study clearly indicated how primary education is significantly correlated to rural conditions. In Tamil Nadu all villages with a population of 300 and more have been provided with lower primary schools, and therefore in respect of enrolment ratios, the above variables are compared with upper primary indices only. Literacy percentage, school enrolment and school facility indices are positively related whereas percentage of rural population and percentage of agricultural workers are negatively correlated with school enrolment and facility indices. This implies the need to increase school facilities and enrolment drives in rural areas.

Importance of primary education

The primary education stage comprises Standards I to VIII and forms the basis of the entire education edifice. Primary education is free and compulsory. It mainly aims at imparting the basic skills in reading, writing and computation. The skills imparted are general and not specific to any trade or vocation. But these skills are indispensable for the formation and development of specific skills. In themselves also they are of productive significance. The end result of primary education is 'functional literacy' and 'effective permanent literacy'. Thus primary education results in an economically productive input. The productivity raising effects of primary education result from (i) increased adaptability and mobility of the labour force, (ii) increased innovativeness and (iii) more effective performance of given tasks because of improved abilities. But primary education also results in changes in attitudes which are relevant from the economic viewpoint. These may be summed up as the strengthening of rational as opposed to traditional modes of behaviour. As such they affect (i) attitudes towards family size, (ii) attitudes towards work and leisure, (iii) consumption patterns, (iv) savings, (v) allocation of savings, (vi) innovativeness, and (vii) locational mobility.

Directive principle of the Indian Constitution

In order to reap the direct and indirect benefits of primary education, considered essential to the effective functioning of the Democracy, the Constitution of India declared in its directive principle 45 to provide free and compulsory education up to 14 years of age.

Universal provision

Tamil Nadu has pioneered in many educational innovations which helped to improve enrolment ratios and brought closer the lofty goal of universalization of primary education. Some of the innovations of Tamil Nadu which were acclaimed in the educational field as effective strategies for development of rural education are:

(a) Mid-day meals to all poor and deserving pupils (nearly 1/3 of the pupils);

(b) Introduction of the Central Kitchen Scheme;

(c) Supply of free uniforms, books and slates;

(d) School Improvement Conference to harness community resources towards [illegible] school facilities; and

(e) Quarters for women teachers in rural areas.

Achievement

The following table indicates the achievement in enrolment over the period 1965-1966 (last year of the Third Five-Year Plan) and 1978-1979.

Table 1

Percentage of enrolment at primary stage – Tamil Nadu

Year	*I – V*			*VI – VIII*		
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1965-66 end of III Plan	102.03	73.08	87.61	63.78	30.72	47.31
1973-74 end of IV Plan	100.06	79.60	90.20	66.30	37.90	52.30
1978-79	103.21	85.27	94.24	72.26	43.39	57.99

Source: *Education demand*, 17 (1979-80).

Number of children to be enrolled

The above enrolment ratios could also be used to find out the percentage of children yet to be enrolled.

Table II

Number and percentage of children yet to be enrolled, Tamil Nadu – 1978-79

Level	*Boys/girls*	*Number (millions)*	*Percentage*
I – V (6-11)	Boys	–	–
	Girls	473	14.73
VI – VIII (11-14)	Boys	410	27.74
	Girls	818	56.61

Source: Computed from Tamil Nadu, *Educational statistics*. Directorate of School of Education.

Universal retention – The chronic problem of wastage

Apart from this problem of universal provision of education, there is the chronic problem of wastage affecting universal retention of pupils. The problem of wastage and stagnation is as old as the structured educational system. The problem had been discussed even by the Hartog Committee and the wastage percentage for primary stage (I-V) was

found to be 'appalling' (72 per cent).[13] Probably in the good old days when the Gurukula system was in vogue, there was not much concern about this monstrous problem because the teachers were able to bestow *individual attention* and admission was highly selective. But now, when democratic governments, returned to power with massive mandates from the people, vie with each other to produce universal compulsory education at primary/first level, the problem becomes more difficult with the involvement of large numbers of pupils.

Measurement of wastage

The term wastage in the education system is used in the sense of a defective, spoiled or unfinished product and does not mean the scrap which is also counted under the head wastage in the industrial sector. Further, wastage can be interpreted in different shades, depending upon the scale of objective of measurement of the output. Limitations in applying systems analysis in education arise due to the fact that the raw materials in the education system are living human beings with aspirations and motivations which vary in degree and depth.

How to measure?

Now in a given situation, as the range and depth of the knowledge provided increase, it may be argued that the number of individuals able to absorb it diminishes and that, too, conversely. Which is greater: a smaller number of people with a greater sum of knowledge, or a greater number of people with a lesser sum of knowledge? In other words, should we measure the results obtained from an educational service by the knowledge distributed, or through the number of persons who acquire a given portion or percentage of the possible knowledge?

Measurement criterion

Here, the latter hypothesis has been chosen because it is closer to reality and because it gives more significance to a comparison between different systems of education. In fact, according to its own aims, each system lays down a set syllabus to cover the range of knowledge that it intends to provide. So this is a datum in the educational process. The variable is the number of pupils acquiring such knowledge and therefore it may be said that the final product of the educational process can be defined as those pupils who have proved, according to a given criterion, that they have absorbed a given range of previously established knowledge.

Efficiency indices

The internal efficiency of primary education can be studied by the progress of children from grade to grade and the number of years it takes to produce a specified number of primary school 'graduates'. In other words, the extent of ineficiency of the system can be measured by the rates of dropout and grade repetition. These phenomena have come to be termed *wastage* and *stagnation.*

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[13] *The Indian yeer book of education – second year book: Elementary education,* Delhi, NCERT, 1964. p. 132.

Wastage structure in Tamil Nadu

Study by State Planning Commission

The detailed study on wastage carried out by the State Planning Commission in Tamil Nadu[14] showed that the mean wastage over 1957-58 to 1970-71, up to Standard V, was 52.7 per cent and up to Standard VIII, was 73 per cent. That is, out of 100 enrolled in Standard I only 27 reach Standard VIII. The rest either dropout or stagnate. The study also revealed that percentage of wastage was higher for girls.

Inter-district analysis

An inter-district analysis made by Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian[15] in respect of wastage in education up to Standard V over the period 1970-74 showed that the incidence was maximum in the backward districts of Dharmapuri and Salem, where the wastage percentage was as high as 50 to 60 per cent. Kanyakumari was the district with the lowest percentage of 27.

A case study

A case study of the Government Primary School, Kothaigramam (Kanyakumari District) carried out by Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian[16] under the Reconstructed Cohort Method suggested by Unesco, showed that the input/output ratio was 1.8. The reciprocal of this ratio, known as coefficient of efficiency, works out to be 0.55, the optimum being 1.00.

Costs – all India study

Because of the incidence of educational wastage, scarce resources are often wasted and hence unit costs go on escalcating. P.R. Gopinathan Nair[17] computed in his paper 'Effective costs of education in India' the statewide excess cost of education for a functionally literate person (4 years of schooling) and for a person who had completed the primary stage of education (7 years completed and reached Standard VIII). At the national level, the total excess cost was 85.7 per cent for the former category and it was 127.2 per cent for the latter. The respective excess costs for Tamil Nadu were 69.5 per cent and 149.7 per cent.

Costs – Tamil Nadu study

Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian[18] estimated the cost of wastage in Tamil Nadu, adopting the method followed by R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, and found that the wastage over the period 1957-58 to 1960-61 (4 years) was Rs. 159.19 lakhs. A similar computation of excess cost upto primary level (Standard VIII) worked out to be Rs. 211.05 lakhs.

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14 *Towards a learning society*, Tamil Nadu, State Planning Commission.

15 Venkatasubramanian, K. *Education and economic development in India, op. cit.*, p. 130.

16 *Ibid. p.* 134.

17 Nair, P.R. Gopinathan, P.R. "Effective costs of education in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*. II(38): September 18, 1976.

18 Venkatasubramanian, K. *'Education and economic development in India', op. cit.*, p. 145.

Factors of wastage – inter-state study

It is found that the poor economic status of parents and inability of the management to provide better facilities in schools are the major factors contributing to wastage. C.B. Padmanabhan[19] analysed in his paper 'Output of primary school in different States' that the output in primary schools is predominantly influenced by economic factors, particularly the level of the per capita Gross National Product and the contribution made by the industrial sector to the per capita income.

External factors of wastage

Another study carried out by the Agricultural Research Centre,[20] University of Delhi, confirmed that external factors like income and caste are possibly far more relevant in explaining wastage in primary education than the set of internal factors affecting the quality of eduation.

Special studies carried out in Tamil Nadu also confirmed the above findings. Poor economic status was a major factor. The incidence of wastage is higher among Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward class pupils and in rural areas.

Wastage in rural Tamil Nadu

Parents' attitude and poverty as causes

An indepth survey[21] has revealed that in the case of 71 per cent of sample dropouts in Dharmapuri, the parents concerned were responsible for their wards leaving school. This finding is originally releated to the finding that in the case of 80 per cent of dropouts in Dharmapuri financial difficulties and need to help parents in their occupation/ cultivation were the twin reasons for their wards leaving schools. Relevant in this context, are these findings on the family background of dropouts:

(i) Nearly three-fourths of the dropouts in Dharmapuri belong to scheduled and Backward Castes or Tribes – both agricultural and non-agricultural;

(ii) As many as 85 per cent of the dropouts' parents in Dharmapuri are either illiterates or have not gone beyond the primary level of education;

(iii) The occupation of 70 per cent of the dropouts' parents in Dharmapuri is related to agriculture – cultivation or wage labour on land;

(iv) Nearly 38 per cent of the dropouts' parents in Dharmapuri own land, while those with uneconomic holdings in the size range of less than 5 acres constitute 44 per cent; and

(v) The average monthly income of 71 per cent of the dropouts' parents in Dharmapuri is in the lower range of up to Rs. 100.

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19 Padmanabhan, C.B. "Output of primary schools in different States", *Teacher Today*. 17(4):44-50, April-June 1975.

20 *Primary education in rural India, participation and wastage*, New Delhi, Tata McGraw Hill, 1971-1981.

21 Indian Institute of Public Opinion, *A wasted asset – a survey of rural youth in two Indian districts*, prepared for UNICEF, New Delhi, 1973, p. 31.

A current study[22] on dropouts carried out at the Santhome Out-of-School Project in Tamil Nadu showed that 72 per cent of the dropouts belonged to families with income less than Rs. 100 per month. The wastage aspect was pronounced in respect of children whose parents were less educated. The dropouts themselves have recorded that poverty was the main cause for their discontinuing education; 77 per cent of the dropouts in the project belonged to a Scheduled Caste, Schedule Tribe or a Backward Community.

A district-level study[23] carried out in Coimbatore also showed similar results. Sixty per cent of the dropouts belonged to families with income below Rs. 1,000 per annum. The headmasters of primary schools in this area considered that 74 per cent of dropouts and 84 per cent of stagnation were directly due to economic causes. The study also revealed that the dropout percentage was lower for the midday meal beneficiaries (only 21.1 per cent of dropouts).

Current study

An in-depth study by Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian[24] on 'Wastage and stagnation by sex and grade in primary and middle classes in all the four States of the Southern Region' revealed many useful findings. A comprehensive gradewise analysis of wastage is shown in Table III.

It is interesting to note that there is a decreasing trend in the wastage rates. This is a welcome change because the rates are decreasing in spite of an increase in enrolment from 1,065 million in Standard I in 1960-61 to 1,618 million in 1976-77. The decrease is quite palpable in the mean rates worked out for 1960-70 and 1970-77. The mean rate of wastage between I to V Standards in 1970-77 is 42.8. Since the introduction of the non-detention scheme in I to III Standards, the wastage rates have continued to go down in recent years. The percentage of wastage in 1978-79 between I to V Standards is 36.22, while it is only 33.18 in 1979-80.

Causes of wastage in the two-dimensional model

An analysis of the factors of wastage clearly reveals that socio-economic and psycho-educational factors cause a major percentage of educational wastage. Every analysis made indicates that the individual impact of the above two factors on the pupil and the interaction between the two factors ultimately result in educational wastage. In the socio-economic sub-system poverty causes nutritional and cultural deprivation, leading to experience of failure and feelings of insecurity. In the psycho-educational system rigid formal content and methods combined with inflexible teacher expectation and examination cause feelings of insecurity. These two major factors interact on the poor pupil and 'push him out' (Figure). Therefore the term 'push out' better describes the cause of educational wastage – the combined interacting factors of socio-economic and psycho-educational systems.

22 Venkatasubramanian, K, *Education and economic development in India*, op. cit.

23 Venkatasubramanian, K. *ibid.*

24 Venkatasubramanian, K, *The National Training Seminar on Methods for Projecting School Enrolment*, organized by the National Staff College, Delhi and Office of the Statistics, UNESCO, Paris.

FIGURE
Two-dimensional model showing socio-economic and psycho-educational factors of educational wastage

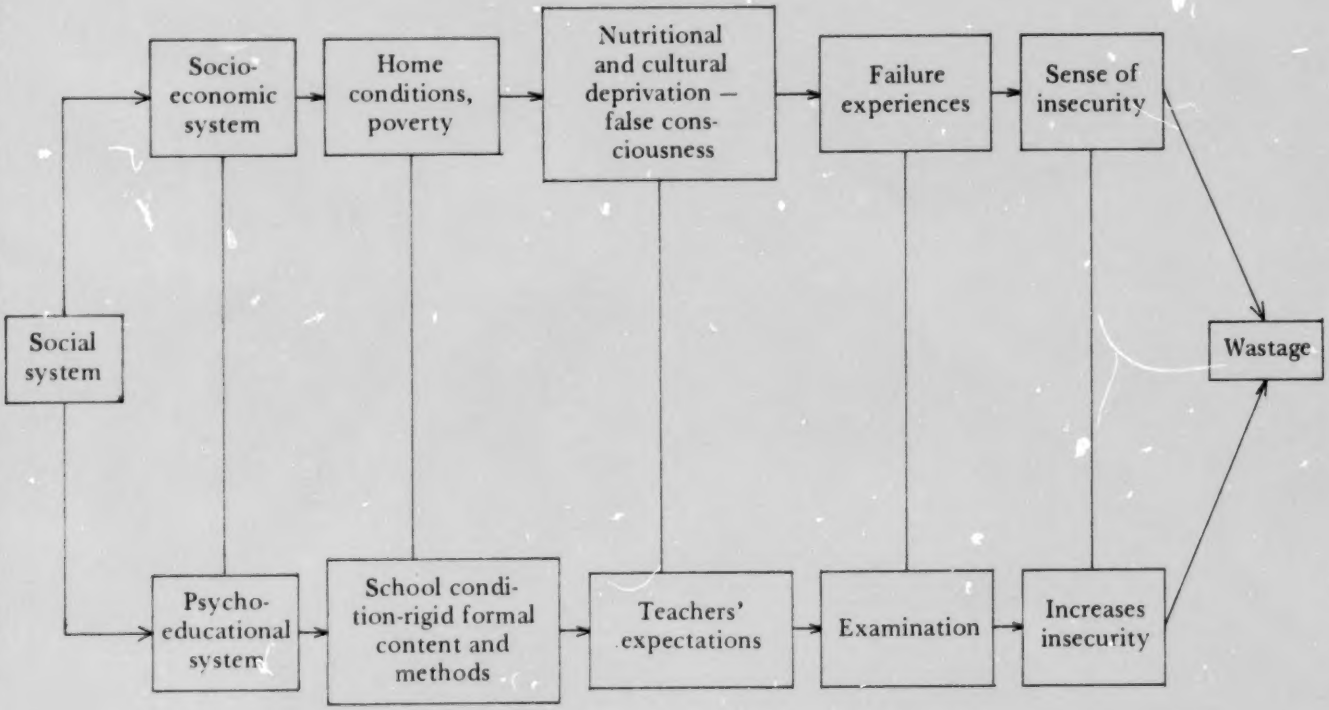


Table III

Gradewise percentage of wastage in primary stage, Tamil Nadu, 1960-61 to 1976-77

Cohort base year	*Enrolment in Grade I ('000)*	*Percentage of wastage in progressing to grades*						
		II	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*
1960–61	1,065	21.80	12.10	9.80	5.80	9.63	6.85	5.14
1961–62	1,273	26.40	11.90	9.10	7.30	7.90	6.97	3.84
1962–63	1,349	25.40	12.11	9.90	6.90	8.62	6.29	4.59
1963–64	1,377	25.00	12.10	10.00	7.50	7.52	7.29	4.97
1964–65	1,333	22.90	11.00	9.40	5.60	11.72	7.25	5.85
1965–66	1,332	21.80	10.10	7.40	5.60	12.07	7.50	5.77
1966–67	1,366	20.79	12.48	8.69	8.32	10.82	7.39	4.21
1967–68	1,564	29.95	9.48	7.94	8.38	9.94	4.64	4.87
1968–69	1,388	20.49	9.87	9.57	8.77	9.40	7.67	6.23
1969–70	1,410	18.69	9.82	10.13	6.81	12.54	8.02	5.40
Mean 60–70		23.32	11.10	9.19	7.10	10.02	6.99	5.09
1970–71	1,442	18.98	10.08	7.14	8.80	13.90	7.00	4.68
1971–72	1,452	20.04	4.77	9.72	10.54	9.87	8.49	x
1972–73	1,521	17.02	9.47	10.72	10.01	7.93	x	x
1973–74	1,393	8.33	11.47	11.06	9.72	x	x	x
1974–75	1,420	10.66	11.07	8.96	x	x	x	x
1975–76	1,424	11.57	7.90	x	x	x	x	x
1976–77	1,618	14.46	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mean 70–77		14.44	9.13	9.46	9.77	10.57	7.75	4.68

Notes: x = Could be computed only when the enrolment figures for 78-79 onwards are available.

Source: Computed from the figures collected from the Statistical Unit of the Directorates of Education concerned.

Summing up

Thus, in achieving the lofty goal of integrated rural development, education plays a vital role and there are different clienteles who need such education:

(i) Those who are still outside the school: children to be brought within the fold of the school system;

(ii) Those children who have dropped out of school due to interacting and inter-dependent causes, the major one being low economic status; and

(iii) The illiterate villagers who act as a stumbling block to rural development.

All these types of people need education suitable to them and it should be need-based and relevant. The channels of educating them are both formal and non-formal.

Minimum learning needs

It is worth mentioning here the six categories of minimum essential learning needs for rural children.[25] These are needs that must be satisfied in the course of growing up if young people are to take command of their own lives and make the most of their opportunities as determined by their socio-economic circumstances. They include in particular:

(1) The acquisition of constructive attitudes and values conducive to effective personal development and to contributing to community and national development;

(2) A functional grasp of literacy and numeracy;

(3) A scientific outlook and rudimentary understanding of one's natural and social environment;

(4) Basic knowledge and skills for rearing a family and managing a household;

(5) Functional knowledge and skill for earning a living; and

(6) The knowledge and skills requisite for effective civic participation.

Non-formal education

In order to meet the challenging tasks of eradication of illiteracy, provision of useful education to dropouts and out-of-school youths, non-formal educational measures are quite essential. An in-depth survey of non-formal education in Tamil Nadu was carried out by a specially constituted committee of experts and educationists; Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah was the Chairman and Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian was the Member-Secretary of the Committee. The report[26] of the Committee revealed 134 impressive programmes of non-formal education. The programmes were broadly classified as follows:

A. General Education Training
   - (1) Remedial and Basic Education
   - (2) Orientation Course in General Education
   - (3) General Youth Education and Service Programmes

B. Occupational Training
   - (1) Agriculture
   - (2) Fisheries
   - (3) Nutrition Education
   - (4) Industrial Training
   - (5) Health
   - (6) Social Welfare Education and Training
   - (7) Cottage Industries Training

[25] Ahmed, M. and P.H. Coombs, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

[26] *Towards a functional learning society*, Madras, Tamil Nadu Board of Continuing Education, 1975.

(8) Commercial Education

(9) Management Skills

(10) Teaching programmes

(11) Self Employment Training

A Directorate of Non-formal Education has also been created and massive programmes in Adult Education and Functional Literacy are also being carried out. The Non-formal Education Unit of SCERT also collaborates in this direction.

Innovative programmes

The SCERT, Tamil Nau, is committed to Rural Development. It is adopting strategies, in-depth studies and action research projects towards this objective. The seminar on 'Education in 2001', organized in collaboration with the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras was very useful as an exercise in futurology. As a part of the seminar a 'Rural Development Centre' was inaugurated at Narayanapuram Village and is now producing appreciable improvements.

Extension services of the SCERT

Under the Extension Services Scheme, the SCERT, Tamil Nadu, has adopted 50 primary Schools in Chitlapakkam (St. Thomas Mount) Panchayat Union Development Block, one of the backward regions of these parts, as it basic field for research and innovation. These schools are under various management such as Panchayat Union, Harijan welfare and private aided.

The package plan – a new innovative programme

With a view to widening the fields of operations of the Extension Services of the SCERT into a programme of diversification through integrated approaches, so that pragmatic programmes may seep into village levels effectively, the package plan has been launched.

Major objectives

The major objectives of the Plan are:

(a) To make the village school and teacher the main vehicle of development in this area;

(b) To survey the villagers' felt needs in the economic, social and cultural spheres through local teachers and arrive at correct data;

(c) To identify the agencies, institutions, organizations and departments which can participate fully in rural development activities and allocate specific areas to each for intra-agency and inter-agency co-ordination;

(d) To make the school the centre for rural development and the co-ordinating link among various agencies, as generally the school is the only longstanding, established, non-partisan, non-political institution in the area; and

(e) To transfer appropriate technology through the adopted schools by bringing together diverse inputs at appropriate stages.

Programmes

Transfer of appropriate technology

The social and economic burden of the villagers could be reduced by transferring appropriate technology to the villages. The efficiency and need for such projects are established first by arranging demonstration projects, so that the villagers accept the need for the change. The technology is in no case to be used merely for technology's sake and the items depend on individual local needs. The aim is to make our technology suitable for adoption in the villages. It is felt that education should play a major role in this transfer. The following are some of the projects considered (the list is not exhaustive). Feasible projects are implemented depending on the individual need of the villages:

(1) Smokeless oven
(2) Kitchen garden using waste management and waste water recycling
(3) Gobar gas plants (cow dung)
(4) Bio gas plants (human waste)
(5) Solar still to prepare distilled water
(6) Solar cabinet dryer
(7) Wind turbine
(8) Grain storage
(9) Small scale and cottage industries:
    a) Bamboo – cane work
    b) Candle making
    c) Coir work
    d) Toy making
    e) Tailoring, sewing and embroidery
    f) Leather work
    g) Ink making
    h) Paper making
    i) Plastic goods
    j) Soap making
    k) Bee keeping
    l) Dairy farming
    m) Poultry farming
    n) Fishery
    o) Palm industry
    p) Chalk-piece making
    q) Simple food preservation

Non-formal education

To cope with the increasing need for non-formal education, practical out-of-school education is provided to the drop-outs in the age-groups 6-14 and 14-25. Functional literacy programmes are also be implemented.

Health and family planning

Bare-foot doctors

Good health is a must for better production. Teachers with training in first aid, etiology of common diseases and preventive measures are immensely useful in redressing health issues. The science of medicine has so developed that there are patent medicines for the common ailments. The teachers have been given inservice training by the Medical Department and are serving as barefoot doctors. *They are not to replace the regular doctors. But they form the first line of medical defence and help in prevention work.* The teachers have been given training in first aid and precautionary and preventive medicine.

Family planning

Two major factors which affect the people's welfare are population and production. In a way production itself is a dependent variable on population. The welfare of a nation varies inversely to population and directly to production. All our efforts to improve the standard of living of our people will be upset if the population explosion continues. The SCERT utilizes the services of lady teachers as a special squad to contact village women and to drive home the important concepts of family planning. The importance of women's education in this respect is very great, as superstition and unscientific attitudes are rampant among them.

Nutrition education programme

Many diseases could be nipped in the bud if proper nutrition could be provided to all children. Nutrition experts point out that deficiency of protein causes mental retardation which is irreparable after a certain period. The nutrition education programme has been introduced in a practical way which the villagers can easily understand. Kitchen garden programmes, using waste management and waste water recycling, supply of hand pumps through the Block Development set up, and the introduction of wind turbines are linked with this programme through the co-operation of the Rural Development and Local Administration Departments, the Indian Institute of Technology, and CARE.

Environmental sanitation

For good health, environmental sanitation and personal hygine are essential. Film shows, wall posters and other media are utilized wherever necessary. The provision of Gobar gas plants and adoption of waste water recycling, waste management, construction of compost pits and soak pits are useful to improve environmental sanitation.

Book bank and study circles

The Book Bank Scheme has been commissioned to help underprivileged pupils.

Study circles for the benefit of the teachers have also been revitalized by providing books from the SCERT Library and the Local Library Authority.

Work experience

The new programme of Work Experience has been introduced in the primary schools.

Modus operandi

(1) The special survey carried out by the SCERT, Tamil Nadu, is the basis for deciding the suitability of individual projects to the villages;

(2) For all projects, pilot projects or demonstration projects to test feasibility are carried out first, and then only the projects and programmes are extended.

(3) Wherever necessary, a training programme precedes actual implementation of the project.

Co-operating and co-ordinating departments and agencies

The co-operation of the following agencies, institutions and departments is sought wherever necessary:

(a) Agencies and Institutions:

1) Unicef
2) British Council, Madras
3) Indian Institute of Technology (IIT)
4) Technical Teachers' Training Institute (TTTI)
5) Tamil Nadu Poultry Development Corporation
6) Tamil Nadu Small Industries Corporation Ltd.
7) Tamil Nadu Small Industries Development Corporation Ltd.
8) All India Radio (AIR)
9) CARE, Madras
10) Tamil Nadu Social Welfare Board
11) Family Planning Association
12) Training Colleges in the area
13) Tamil Nadu Board of Continuing Education
14) NSS wings of Colleges and Higher Secondary Schools

(b) Departments

1) Department of School Education
2) Department of Rural Development
3) Department of Agriculture
4) Department of Harijan Welfare
5) Department of Backward Classes
6) Department of Animal Husbandry
7) Department of Water Supply and Drainage

8) Department of Dairy Development
9) Department of Environment Hygiene
10) Department of Employment and Training
11) Department of Fisheries
12) Department of Health Services and Family Planning
13) Department of Medical Education
14) State Family Planning Bureau
15) Department of Highways and Rural Works
16) Department of Industries and Commerce
17) Department of Co-operation
18) Department of Information and Public Relations
19) Department of Khadi and Village Industries
20) Department of Forests

(c) Public Organizations

1) Education – Trusts and Endowments
2) Service Organization – Public Clubs, such as Rotary and Lions which donate for the public cause

(d) Parent Teacher Association: The net work of Parent Teacher Associations is utilized as a forum to mobilize the resources of the community.

The Organogram

The annexed organogram shows the stages and events of the project along with the agencies involved and their involvement.

Intra-agency co-ordination

This special project is an exercise in intra-agency co-ordination to open new channels of communication, delegation of authority and decision making at various levels. There is scope for continuous and open communication flow.

Inter-agency co-ordination

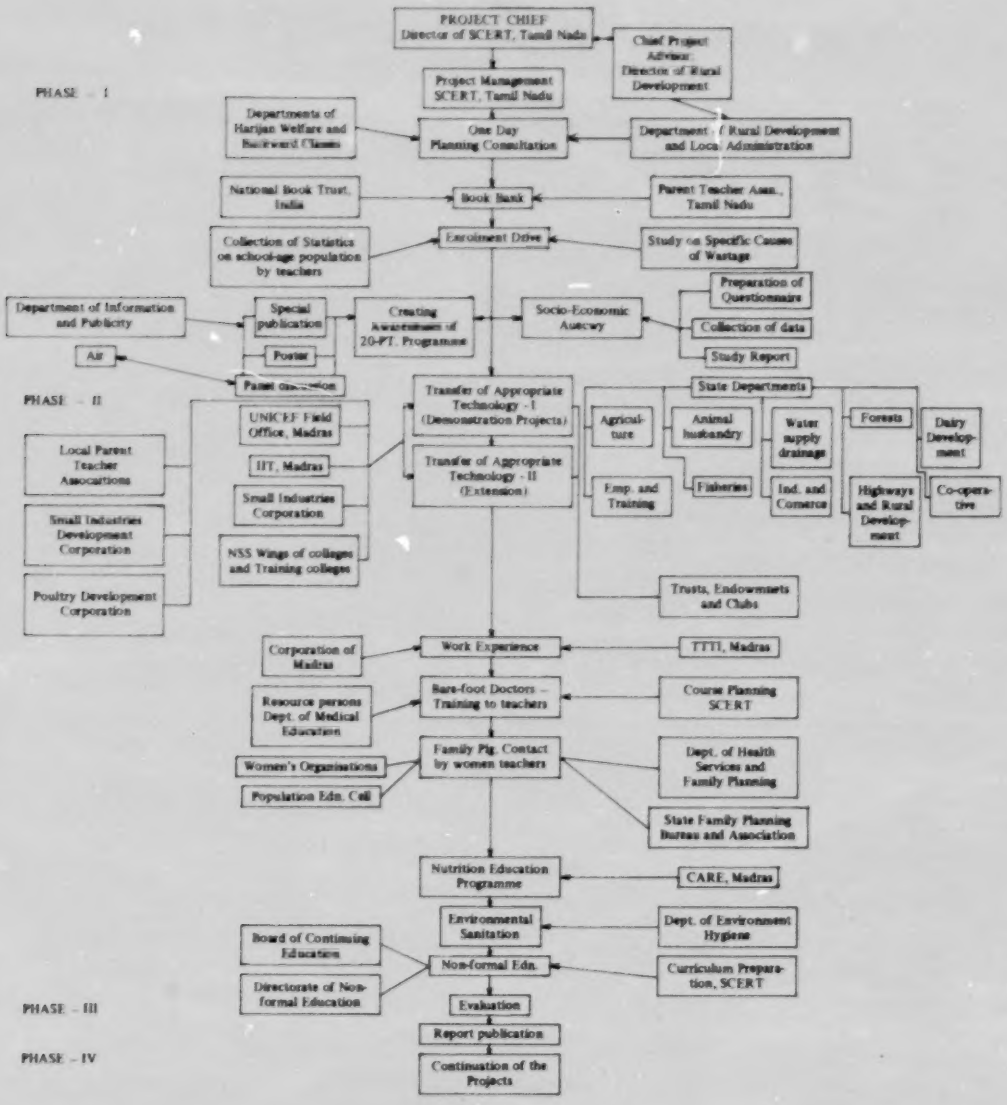
As expressed in the report of the preparatory meeting, "The critical minimum input for a substantial change in the life of rural people may be possible in the future through integration and a conscious co-ordination of the existing programmes even within the resources that are at present being expended. The efforts to synchronize the work of education, health, agriculture and other involved agencies, especially at the community level needs to be pursued vigorously." This special project of the SCERT bridges education and rural development by synchronizing the activities of the various departments.

Sustained interest

With a view to sustaining interest, steps are taken:

(1) to utilize the traditional institutions;

Organogram of the package plan for rural development through education formulated by the State Council of Educational Research and Training, Tamil Nadu



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(2) To give special training to the appropriate personnel;

(3) To tap the capabilities of personnel and the natural and under-utilized resources of the community; and

(4) To provide ample opportunity for community participation.

Model scheme for Asia

The strategy adopted is multi-dimensional in approach. This plan of the SCERT envisages the village school as the Community Centre and the village teacher as the catalytic agent of social change. It has been designated by the Unesco team who visited the villages as the 'Model Scheme for Asia'.

Research projects in primary and community education

The SCERT, Tamil Nadu, has launched two Unicef assisted projects in the field of primary and community education. The first one is the project on Primary Education Curriculum Renewal (PECR) and the second one is Developmental Activities in Community Education and Participation (DACEP). These projects have been approved by the Government of India and they are monitored by the NCERT, New Delhi. The government of Tamil Nadu have been permitted to experiment with a new curriculum in these project schools.

PECR project

The scheme was started in 1975 in 30 primary schools (10 in Trivellore Panchayat Union, 10 in wallajah Panchayat Union and 10 in Tiruvidaimarudur Panchayat Union). During this phase instructional materials for Standards I to V were developed by the SCERT, Tamil Nadu for these 30 primary schools, taking into consideration the needs of these localities.

After getting feedback, the materials are now being revised for reprinting and introduction to the schools from 1981-82 to 1985-86.

In continuation of this first phase the programme has now been extended to 100 more primary schools, at the rate of 10 schools in each of these educational districts: (1) Madras, (2) North Arcot, (3) South Arcot, (4) Salem, (5) Dharmapuri, (6) Coimbatore, (7) the Nilgiris, (8) Madurai, (9) Ramanathapuram and (10) Tirunelveli.

The objective of the PECR project is to develop innovative curriculum and related instructional materials and concurrently to give suitable inservice training to teachers through a relevant curricular programme based on the felt needs of the region. This project is useful as an intervention programme to remove the educational causes of wastage.

DACEP project

This is a project on community education involving community participation in development activities. Using the principle of 'work-based' learning, it should act as a stimulant for socio-economic development for the entire society.

The objectives

The related objective is to make the school a centre of community education, which will bring about the all-round development of the community through the co-ordinated efforts of all the resource people available in the locality.

The scope

The community education programme will comprise the following target age-groups:

i) Pre-school children of the age-group 3-5;

ii) Primary Education for dropouts of the age-group 5+ to 14;

iii) (a) Girls and mothers;

(b) Out-of-school youth and adults (14+ and above); and

iv) Mothers with children of the age-group 0-3.

Plan of operation

During the first phase (1975-80), the DACEP project was in operation in two community centres – Tirur in Chingleput District and Ammoor in North Arcot District. During the second phase commencing from 1981-82, three more community centres have been identified – Olcott Kuppam near Adyar, Japir Venkatapuram near Krishnagiri and Agaram near Portonovo. These centres will start functioning in 1981-82. Special instructional materials, depending on the functional literacy programme such as (i) Agriculture, (ii) Handpounding of rice, (iii) Carpentry, (iv) Bee keeping, (v) Poultry keeping, (vi) Dairy farming, (vii) Spinning and Weaving, (viii) Palm-leaf Craft and (ix) Health and Nutrition, have been prepared and used in these centres.

Survey and implementation

A comprehensive survey has been conducted in all these schools to ascertain the actual educational and community needs and the resources available in the region. From the educational point of view all vital age-groups are taken into specific programmes and provided with basic education. The dropouts, out-of-school youths and adults, will all have programmes tailored to their special needs. This project will help to achieve the long-felt objective of integrated rural development through planned educational programmes for the children in the schools, dropouts, and adult illiterates. This will enable the people to participate in all programmes of the community and to themselves evaluate the success of the schemes and projects implemented by them. Ultimately this project will help to build up a self-reliant society.

Comprehensive access to primary education (CAFE)

This project is a natural projection of the twin projects PECR and DACEP. The project, started in 1979, mainly aims at educating dropouts and disadvantaged children, of the age-group 9-14, through a non-formal type of education. The curriculum, according to this project, will be decentralized and will help to solve the real life problems of the

community. All the 74 Teacher Training Institutes in the State have been involved in this project.

In the first phase of the programme all the principals of the Teacher Training Institutes in the State were given training on the project for two days, followed by a 10-day workshop for all the principals and teacher educators in various centres in the State. They were exposed to techniques of preparing suitable learning materials to enable them to help the student-teachers to prepare learning materials for use in the learning centres to be opened. Such courses were conducted in 8 centres and 361 Teacher Educators were trained. In the first year of its implementation, each student-teacher was asked to prepare materials for 5 hours of learner time. Over 10,000 such learning episodes have been prepared in 1979-80.

Epilogue

Ultimately, only Integrated Rural Development can achieve the desired overall development of any country, and education – both in and out-of-school education – is the major and vital input towards this objective.

There are two views on achieving rural development. The first one is that the borrowed educational model excludes the villages and therefore an indigenous model should be developed. The report of the International Commission on the Development of Education (1971-72) points out, "In many societies exodus begins at the villages. Patterns of life are copied from towns, the educational system is based on imported school models and both show scant concern to help the individual integrate into his environment by giving him the feeling that he belongs to a nation are society. Together with other objectives and fruitful values, they inculcate values into school children which estrange them from their surroundings, feeding intellectual and material ambitions which are becoming harder and harder to realize in a rural setting." This view suggests that an educational model which is suitable to the region and which could avoid the exodus should be evolved.

The other view is that rural life should be modernized so as to absorb the educated people in the villages. F.H. Harbison[27] points out, "In this age of rising aspirations and spreading mass communication the sons of farmers are not going to sentence themselves to traditional agriculture if they can possibly avoid it. The only fundamental solution is the modernization of rural life. This calls for sweeping measures such as land reform, agricultural research and extension services, widespread rural community development programmes, the effective utilization of rural labour in the building of roads, irrigation systems, houses and schools and other programmes aimed at making rural life more productive and attractive. If people see a positive reason for remaining in the rural areas and a promise of a better life there, the problem of revision of curricula in the schools will be relatively easy to handle."

Taking into consideration both views, Tamil Nadu is attempting to evolve a suitable educational model through curriculum renewal projects. To enable the rural folk to

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[27] Harbison, F.H., "Human resource development planning in modernizing economics", *International Labour Review*, May 1962.

participate in community life, non-formal education and developmental activities are organized through the co-ordinated efforts of departments concerned with rural uplift. It is hoped that educational wastage will also be reduced when the parents in villages realize, through educational programmes organized for them, the importance of functional education. Education for Rural Development and Rural Development through Education should be our watch words.

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EDUCATION AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

by

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I. The dynamics of development paradigms

History has witnessed continuous changes of the predominant development paradigms throughout the world within the last three decades. A turning point is evident in a growing awareness that development policies have gone wrong, given the minimum goals of improving the quality of life and securing the essential conditions necessary for a decent and respectable human existence for the bulk fo the masses in the Third World. An all-pervasive crisis of social equity is occurring in many parts of the world. A comprehensive cross-national study covering 74 countries indicates that gains in Gross National Product tend to be accompanied by a decline in the relative share of national income received by the poorest component of the population (Adelman and Morris, 1967); whereas Patel (1978) estimated that almost 75 per cent of the world population, constituting the inhabitants of developing countries, received only 20 per cent of world income. The achievement of the conventional goal of development, the increase of GNP, is often accompanied by structural polarization, inequitable distribution of wealth and power, and structural dependence.

The major change of development paradigm is reflected in the shift of the orientation of the paradigm from the one emphasizing the rate of economic growth as measured by the growth of GNP towards the other focusing on the more equitable distribution of income. This means, as Professor Seers (1969) argued, the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Poverty-focused development policy as proposed by Seers will inevitably direct development actions to rural society. In practically all developing countries the poor are disproportionately located in the rural sector and engaged in agriculture and agriculture-related activities. Cross-section data of Third World nations indicate that about 75 to 80 per cent of all target poverty groups are located in the rural areas of Africa and Asia, and approximately 70 per cent in rural Latin America, scratching out their livelihood from subsistence agriculture either as small holders or as landless low-paid agriculture labourers (Tadaro, 1977, p. 108). Poverty-focused development policy, henceforth, should be based on a solid concept or philosophy of rural development.

There is no doubt that with different degrees of intensity the Indonesian government has always aimed at developing its rural sector. For a country predominantly populated by small holders and landless farm workers, development will only generate structural polarization unless it is directed to rural people. However, political and economic realities often lead policy makers to take pragmatic, short-term measures which deviate from the rural focus. Indonesian history witnessed the formulation of a rural development programme and agricultural policy in the 1950s and 1960s which were

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intended to maintain the welfare of a very special class of consumers, the military and the civil service, which was inevitably at the expense of farmer welfare. The rice intensification scheme was more directed to overcome the deterioration of the balance of payments and to protect fixed-wage earners such as the military and civil servants rather than to enhance the standard of living of the rural poor (Timmer, 1975, p. 219). The New Order government's preoccupation with economic stabilization did bring significant results in the form of 7 to 8 per cent of annual economic growth during its First and Second Five Year Development Plans. The growth, however, was accompanied by more unequal distribution of income. Sritua Arief's study indicated that the ratio of urban and rural per capita income had increased from 5.4 : 1 to 6.7 : 1 in 1969-1973 (based on the 1960 constant price) and from 7.7 to 1 to 8.5 to 1 in 1971-1974 (based on the 1973 constant price) (Sritua Arief, 1977, p. 57). Comparing the fourth census data of 1970 and the fifth census data of 1976, Adisasono (1980) concluded that only the top 10 per cent of the social pyramid enjoyed a relative increase of its share of national income from 26.6 per cent to 31.1 per cent; while the bottom 20 per cent of the social stratum's share decreased from 8.3 per cent to 7.8 per cent.

Some measures were taken to correct the past distortion of development policies. Development priorities were reversed from national stability, economic growth and equitable distribution to equitable distribution, economic growth and national stability at the beginning of the Third Five Year Development Plan. To implement the change of development priorities a government policy known as "Eight Channels of Equitable Distribution" was adopted. It encompassed eight components: equitable distribution of ability to meet basic needs; equitable distribution of access to education and health services; equitable distribution of income; equitable distribution of job opportunities; equitable distribution of opportunity to conduct business; equitable distribution of participatory opportunities in development endeavour, particularly for women and the younger generation; equitable distribution of development programmes throughout the country; and equitable distribution of access to justice.

The change of development paradigm should logically be followed by a comprehensive, peasant-oriented rural development programme which fundamentally differs from the one which benefits urban and rural elites and the middle classes.

At the global level, this change was manifested in the development goals adopted by the United Nations at the beginning of the Second Development Decade. It defined rural development beyond its conventional connotation of agricultural and economic growth and perceived it as a far-reaching transformation of social and economic structures, institutions, relationships and processes in rural areas, leading to more equitable distribution of income and power (Coombs and Ahmed, 1971, p. 13).

Given the above definition of rural development, what kind of educational system is needed to realize these rural development values? A reconsideration and reassessment of the whole rural educational system might be necessary.

The role of education in rural development

Many scholars seem to take for granted the efficacy of the existing educational system for rural development. Some (Myrdal, 1968, p. 1622; Meyer, 1970) underline the

role of education in generating individual traits needed for development, such as specific skills, rational attitudes, motivational preparedness, and modern and participatory orientations. It is assumed that education – both directly and indirectly through its power to elevate individuals to respected social positions – could produce individual qualities. Others emphasize the linkages of education with economic variables such as market integration, increase in factor endowment (Uphoff and Ilchman, 1973, pp. 330-31), labour productivity and output growth (Todaro, 1977, p. 254).

These educational effects might be sufficient to meet the requirements of the conventional development paradigm. The new concept of rural development, however, aiming at the transformation of social and economic structures leading to more equitable distribution of income and participatory power, necessitates the reassessment of the existing educational system in rural areas. Some fundamental policy questions that should be raised are: what types of education are needed and how much education is considered sufficient to facilitate equitable distribution of income and participatory power; what is the proper institutional arrangement to link formal and non-formal education as well as to co-ordinate sectoral educational programmes so as to enhance their total impact on eliminating unemployment, poverty and inequality? How would education enhance community participation in planning, execution and evaluation of programmes so that they will best fit local needs?

Those basic policy questions have to be taken into account in planning rural education.

Negative spill-overs of education in rural areas

In no sense is this study insensitive to or unappreciative of the great opportunities offered by education in the process of rural development. Education will certainly play an increasingly significant role in the development of rural societies by diffusing knowledge, skills and patterns of behaviour indispensable in the development process.

Caution, however, should be taken to envisage the social cost or the possible negative spill-overs of education in rural areas. Education is by no means neutral. It has the capacity to redistribute economic gains, social status and political power through which mechanism the obsolete social structure tends to perpetuate itself. It is for this very reason that the choice has to be made between egalitarianism or expertise. No doubt each will somehow eventually lead in the direction of a more productive society. However, each will be productive more or sooner for some members of the society than others (Uphoff and Ilchman, 1973, p. 333).

The discriminatory effect of education is partly caused by the inadequacy of educational resources, particularly qualified teachers and teaching materials – a problem which predominates in the LDCs. Educational resources tend to be concentrated in some elite schools in the urban sector, despite the spread of schooling throughout the country. The lack of educational resources in the rural area deprives the rural poor, who cannot afford to send their children to better schools in the cities, of quality education. This, in turn, deprives them of the opportunity to climb up the educational ladder leading to prestigious, status-conferring universities; once they are enrolled in less qualified primary and

secondary schools it will be difficult for them to compete for higher learning. The status-conscious value system which predominates in the LDCs prevents them from filling better positions.

Equality of access to educational opportunities does not automatically prevent the biased effect of education. The educational system of the LDCs in concert with its socio-cultural configuration might exacerbate existing income inequalities. The status-oriented value system is inclined to set a standard of recruitment and remuneration based on the length of acquired formal education rather than actual achievement. Jagdish Bhagwati (1973), for instance, established the positive relationship between level of education and level of earnings, namely, urban, middle and upper class people with greater probability of longer years of formal school education are likely to enjoy more income. Here we observe the linkage between social stratification and education. In a highly stratified society where income is unequally distributed, equality in educational opportunity does not necessarily narrow down the income gap between the rich and the poor.

The income disparity between rich and poor tends to hinder the realization of the equalizing effect of education through biological as well as economic mechanisms. First of all, under-nourished children coming from a poor family have mental and intellectual disadvantages compared to those coming from a rich family. They are less prepared intellectually to strive for higher learning due to this biological factor. Secondly, the economic value of children to the poor for their parents seems to be higher than those of the rich family. They often function as a "secondary bread winner" of the family, whose contribution to the total family income is very crucial. Their labour is very much needed by the family to work on the farm or to sell agricultural products in the market, so that their absence will mean a loss of valuable subsistence output or the hiring of paid labour to replace them. This means that the opportunity cost of a child's labour to subsistence peasants is likely to be higher for poor students than for rich students, whereas the expected benefits of education – the rate of return from investment in a child's education – tend to be lower for the poor than for the rich (Todaro, 1977, pp. 254-57).

If we share the United Nations specification of the goals of rural development which cover not simply agricultural and economic growth in the narrow sense, but also a balanced social and economic development which leads to more equitable distribution of development benefits, then we must perceive education in the rural area within this framework. Education in the rural area should be designed to facilitate the achievement of more equitable distribution of income and to minimize negative spill-overs.

Implications of the new rural development paradigm on education

As seen in the previous section, the socio-cultural and socio-economic configuration and educational system converge to generate positive and/or negative impacts on rural society. Rural education planners should, therefore, consider the limitations and potentials of the configuration and choose strategic manipulable factors for intervention. Since the inequalities, in fact, are not inherently the outcome of the educational system *per se*, but the institutional and social structure which constitutes the context of the system, then the short-run goal of rural education should be to set up educational programmes which would eliminate or minimize the inequalities. The immediate, expected

gains of the programmes are the development of motivation, skill, knoweldge and entrepreneurship which will enable people to see various local potentials and to mobilize and utilize local resources so as to improve their standard of living. This, in turn, is expected to strengthen their economic position and to become a stepping stone for them, and particularly for their children, to proceed further along the social ladder. In the long-run the programmes are expected to generate competitive advantage for quality education, facilitating vertical mobility for the poor, and finally flattening the social pyramid.

No doubt, the programmes differ from each other in terms of capacity to achieve short-run and long-run goals. Using Philip H. Coombs' classification, general or basic education might impart its impact on the achievement of long-run goals; family improvement education and community improvement education create favourable conditions for the achievement of short-run goals; whereas occupational education which is designed for developing specific skills and knoweldge directly related to economic activities, is indispensable for the materialization of short-run goals.

It goes without saying that education is only a component of concerted development actions. Other measures should be carried out to ensure equitable distribution of rural income such as land reform, provision of low interest credit, progressive taxation, and rice price and production policy. Linkages among measures should be maintained to ensure synergistic impact.

Some measures in the field of education which should be carried out to realize new goals of rural development are:

1. Adapting rural school curricula, particularly the curricula of non-formal education, to the potential occupational structure of the corresponding rural community; the latter is very much influenced by local conditions such as natural resources, accessibility, and structural differentiation;

2. Using actual resource needs of the country as guidelines for deciding the types of schooling as well as the structure of the curricula; educational needs of the rural community should also be determined by assessing natural, social and economic potentials of the community;

3. Using rural education to stimulate the productivity of the idle or less productive categories of the labour force, particularly women and youth, by inducing specific skills to fit the respective category. The skills induced should be such that they do not exacerbate competition for existing job opportunities; rather, they should increase functional differentiation in the rural community;

4. Inducing the spread of skills through apprenticeships in various small and medium enterprises by giving some support or facilities to those who are willing to receive apprentices;

5. Supplementing the curricula of conventional religious schools with income generating skills;

6. Initiating educational reform by effecting changes in the conditions of demand for and supply of educational opportunities;

7. Delegation of authority to the local community with the primary purpose of enhancing the skill and ability of the rural people to participate in the planning, execution and evaluation of programmes;

8. Ensuring the enrolment of bright low income students from rural areas in better secondary and vocational schools and universiites and granting them scholarships. The schools will temporarily uproot them from their socio-cultural environment and in some way marginalize them. However, it is precisely this marginal position that renders them better able to innovate in their villages when they come back; and

9. Assuring better co-ordination among various agencies responsible for sectoral rural education by asking the leading sector agency to co-operate with related agencies in the planning, execution and evaluation of inter-sectoral educational programmes.

The recommendations do not mean to perpetuate the existing socio-economic and socio-cultural dualism between rural and urban sectors. Eventually, the dichotomy will be narrowed down. The programmes recommended are stepping stones to the process of integration. By establishing rural educational programmes which, in concert with other rural development programmes, are able to improve the economic position of the rural poor, it is expected that socio-economic and socio-cultural dualism, and hence educational dualism, will diminish in the near future.

The strategic role of non-formal education in rural development

The new goal of rural development emphasizing equality and equitable distribution of income gives new relevance to non-formal education. Non-formal education does not have any established standard as regards educational levels, and it does not have any standard of selection and evaluation, so that the less privileged rural poor will have better access to it. Furthermore, it provides the chances to acquire various skills which meet specific needs of a particular rural community within a relatively shorter length of time. Its flexible character makes it easier to adapt its curricula to meet specific job requirements, and therefore makes it easier to relate it to income generating job opportunities. The result is, it has greater potential to enhance the standard of living of the rural poor.

Another positive feature of non-formal education is its proximity to work, immediate action, and the opportunity to put to use what is learned (Brembeck, 1973, p. 54). Consequently, the probability that it will have direct impact on one's standard of living or one's quality of life is considerable. For members of the labour force who are already employed, non-formal education may serve to increase their labour productivity or to increase the value added of their products, both having a direct bearing upon their earnings. For members of the labour force who have not been employed, non-formal education serves to prepare them for entry into the labour market and provides them with a better bargaining position. And beyond this labour force participation, non-formal education may also develop skill and knowledge which will help to improve one's quality of life; training in home economics, family planning, health clinics and nutrition, and mother and child care are examples of the off-job functions of non-formal education.

Community participation in initiating and running non-formal education

The proliferation of non-formal education is a way to overcome the inability of formal schooling to provide equal access for the school-age population. It is a means to fill the gap between the "schooled" and "unschooled" citizens. Furthermore, it generates skills which enable people to fill job opportunities, and also to create job opportunities. The inability of the government to fully provide non-formal educational opportunities should lead it to co-operate with private institutions, social organizations, ordinary citizens or enterprises to set up non-formal education. The two on-going cases of such community participation in initiating and running non-formal education in Indonesia are presented below with the hope that they can have cross-cultural applicability or replicability.

The first one is a programme sponsored by the office of Community Education of the Department of Education and Culture known as *Dana Belajar* or Learning Fund project. Its main objectives are to assist those who are willing to develop their skills, knowledge, and enterpreneurship to acquire those qualities through apprenticeships in a business or enterprise; to increase the standard of living by increasing labour productivity through the non-formal education mentioned above. The programme is carried out in seven provinces in Indonesia, i.e. North Sumatra, South Sulawesi, Central Java, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, East Java, and West Java. The programme started in 1979/1980.

The main features of this Learning Fund project are as follows:

1. The project will give financial support to an individual enterprise or business, a learning group or other social organization;

2. The amount of this financial support is equaivalent to the capital owned by the respective candidate, not exceeding Rp. 150,000.- (approximately $240.-);

3. To be eligible for support, one should meet certain qualifications:

   (a) There should be a dedicated and responsible "learning patron" who is also a member of *Lembaga Sosial Desa* (Village Social Institution);

   (b) There should be at least 4 to 10 student candidates who are less educated, who are either unemployed or low wage earners, and who live in the neighbourhood;

   (c) There should be a dedicated and responsible teacher (craftsman, tailor, etc.) who is willing to share his skill with student candidates or apprenties;

   (d) There should be a learning programme formulated by the learning patron, teacher and student candidates or apprentices which fits the need of the latter; the learning programme should support the realization of the government development programme;

   (e) Learning resources should be easily available;

   (f) The outcome of this learning process should be marketable and help to enhance the standard of living of the students or apprentices; and

(g) The business or enterprise should have good access to market and lack of capital.

4. Those who receive the support of this programme should be able to triple the amount of financial support received within 5 years; this, in turn, becomes the capital of the apprentices. It is expected that in this way the capital and job opportunities will proliferate.

It is too early to assess the operation of this programme. The programme, however, is recommended since it combines community participation, learning through non-formal education, capital formation, and employment creation. The proliferation of the enterprise could take various forms: (a) the new business enterprises could take the same form as their "mother enterprise"; (b) the new enterprises could share a part of the production process of their "mother enterprise"; (c) the enterprises could also take completely different forms.

The probability of success of this multifaceted project will be greater if various related agencies are involved in stimulating community participation in non-formal education. While the Office of Community Education as the sponsor can take care of the educational aspect, the General Directorate of Small Industry and the General Directorate of Co-operatives can provide support for the technical and marketing aspects respectively.

Another example of community participation in non-formal education is demonstrated by the Small Industry Development Centre, a prominent project of the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information in co-operation with Friedrich Egbert Stiftung of West Germany. The project is based upon some basic assumptions about problems faced by small industries: (a) the inertia syndrome which is manifested by lack of entrepreneurship, lack of foresight, lack of competitive ability, and over-dependence; (b) lack of managerial ability to run the business; (c) weakness in production technology; (d) structural barriers as represented by macro-economic policy and socio-cultural as well as socio-political climates.

The assumptions lead the Institute to apply an integrated approach in the development of small industries, focusing on the development of human resources, in concert with the development of management and technology and also the development of a favourable climate.

The Small Industry Development Centre, which is located in a densely industrialized region in terms of small industry, Klaten, Central Java, emphasizes individual and group consultation. The activities encompass:

1. Achievement motivation training; seminars on credit for small industry; vocational and managerial training;
2. Demonstration and workershops on tool development, design, production processes, preservation, material handling and packing;
3. Comparative study and evaluation through visits to other industries and industrial research and development centres;
4. Encouragement of group dynamics through co-operatives;

5. Support in marketing; and

6. Information gathering and diffusion.

Although the Centre undertakes various measures to help to develop small industries in this region, the non-formal education constitutes its major activity. The industries supported vary greatly: blacksmith, tile, furniture, horn, towel, confection, shoes, and bamboo weaving industries.

No doubt, it represents the role a private institution can play in helping to enhance the standard of living of those who belong to the lower social stratum, through non-formal education.

Non-formal education for women to enhance their role and participation in development

Women have lately become the major focus of many development programmes throughout the LDCs. First of all, woman is the value bearer of the community on whom the traits of the future generation may depend. Secondly, the economic role of women both outside and inside the household can be improved so as to enhance the well-being of the family. Third, they are relatively less educated, a fact which hinders the performance of their civic role.

Probably our main problem is, what role should women play in achieving the new goal of rural development? What role can non-formal education play to prepare them for this role?

There are at least two things to be considered in planning non-formal education for women. First, in a labour abundant society where competition for job opportunities is severe, non-formal education for women should not be directed to develop skills which may exacerbate the existing competition. Differentiation by sex which increases labour productivity of women in as yet undeveloped jobs may increase labour productivity as a whole, and hopefully can improve the standard of living of the rural poor. Secondly, the strategy of non-formal education for women should consider the differences of the role of women among social strata. Hull's research findings (1976) indicate that middle-class women in Maguwoharjo, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, are less likely to be working in economic activities other than household obligations. If there are any of them doing economic activities, these are fewer in number and less time-consuming than those of the poor villagers. It is partly because there is no economic necessity for them to work outside the home, and partly because the noble class and the middle class have a particular idea of the place of women in the society and the household. They are inclined to be idle since the servants will do the job.

On the contrary, women of the lower class have to perform the role of secondary bread-winners in order to survive and to sustain the family. Economic partnership between husband and wife in such economic activities as farming, labouring, and trading, among the lower class is very common. In other words, women of the lower class have a clearer productive economic role than their fellow women of the middle class. The activities are well demonstrated by a research finding of the Department of Social Affairs (1979) conducted in Madura and Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta. There are 15 activities which are common to lower-class women:

1.	Cooking	96.40%
2.	Serving the meals	95.15%
3.	Shopping	92.65%
4.	Washing the clothes	91.05%
5.	Providing the basic needs	90.23%
6.	Washing the dishes	88.45%
7.	Cleaning the houses	85.90%
8.	Getting the water	65.40%
9.	Taking care of herself	59.85%
10.	Collecting fire wood	57.65%
11.	Setting the lamp	55.80%
12.	Taking care of the children	55.48%
13.	Taking care of the husband	49.90%
14.	Taking care of the cattle	25.15%
15.	Taking care of the family	8.15%

The research also found out that 60.12 per cent of the respondents perform as secondary bread-winners for the family in such economic activities as farming, labouring, trading and services.

The data indicate that women coming from poor families spend too much time on household work (17.36 hours daily). Probably non-formal education for middle-class women should be directed to prepare them for taking a greater role in civic activites, while non-formal education for lower-class women should be directed to increase their economic productivity as well as to improve their ability to do household jobs. The pilot project for enhancing the role of women in family welfare and in the community conducted in Madura and Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, has the following objectives:

1. To find appropriate technology which will help lower class women to use their time for household jobs more economically;
2. To find economically productive activities for women of the lower class to enable them to help to support the family;
3. To find methods of education, training and development to overcome their lack of knowledge and skills; and
4. To find methods of social guidance which will integrate the above three activities.

The project integrates non-formal education with other measures such as credits, provision of tools, etc. Specifically the project consists of these activities:

1. Non-formal education to diffuse skills for productive activities (material, capital, production processes, marketing, management) to increase their income;

2. Provision of tools and guidance in their use to enable them to use their time more economically;
3. Social guidance to improve their knowledge in family welfare and to increase their ability to participate in the development of their community; and
4. Provision of "stimulative, self-propelling working capital" for individual and collective productive activities; the capital is supposed to be returned on time to be transferred to fellow villagers.

The programme seems to be able to strengthen the economic position of the lower income family by enhancing their ability to do income-generating work, household jobs and to participate in community development.

Integration of knowledge and skill in formal education

Last but not least, a newly developed programme of integrating the diffusion of knowledge and skill in a particular kind of formal education deserves particular attention, since it will enhance the ability of youth to participate in economic, productive activities and hence, to participate in development.

Traditionally, *pondok pesantren,* religious schools for Moslems, engaged in the religious education of youth. Lately they have been expanding their scope of educational activities. Not only do the students have to master Islamic doctrines, they are also taught various practical skills which will be useful for them to earn their living in the future, such as animal husbandry, cattle breeding, farming, and craft. They are trained to be independent.

Another innovation of the *pondok pesantren* is its concern for society. Students are trained to integrate themselves into their society. In relation to this new educational objective, they may also study sanitation, civil engineering, and architecture in order to be able to participate in the development of their communtiy. The case of *pesantren* Pabelan is worth noting. In 1980, it received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture for its effort to develop traditional architecture to meet the need of hundreds of thousands of the rural poor.

What *pesantren* Pabelan or other *pesantren* are attempting, the integration of the traditional role of teaching religious doctrine with the new educational endeavour which helps students to be independent bread-winners and to participate in the development of their rural community, might also be adopted in other countries, particularly Moslem countries.

Concluding remarks

This paper is intended to reorient rural education to the new goal of rural development, i.e. to develop a society with more equitable distribution of income, to focus on the rural poor. The cases presented above exemplify possible alternative systems of rural education which help to achieve the new goal of rural development. It is hoped that the cases will inspire others to develop similar educational programmes.

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EDUCATION AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

by

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Introduction

In most of the Third World, concern with rural communities increased on the part of thinkers and planners with the adoption of modernization as one of the state goals. The fact that in most of the emergent nations, rural population constitutes the bulk of their population has created moral as well as political compulsions on them to attend to the problems of the development of their rural areas. Thus, rural development programmes have been one of the important features of their national development efforts. In recent times, these programmes received further impetus with increasing priority accorded to them by bilateral and multilateral donors. To take the example of Nepal, the first such resource-intensive rural development was undertaken in 1976 with a total outlay of NRs. 13.5 crores including a US$ 8 million loan from the World Bank; in 1981 Nepal has a total of six such on-going rural development projects with an estimated investment of more than 1.3 billion rupees, which does not include a few more of them in the offing.

In most countries today, the fact that education is critical for an on-going development process that contributes to a more progressive and forward-looking attitude on the part of the people has been duly acknowledged. It has become clear that farmers who can compute and read make more progressive cultivators than those who are not so equipped. Even such innovations as local planning, self government and co-operative movements depend to a large degree on the diffusion of functional literacy (1). For these reasons, the spread of education invariably constitutes one of the essential activities in the rural development efforts of those countries.

While the broader objective of the spread of education has been to rationalize the attitude and outlook of the people, the programmes that are generally included are primary and secondary schooling, and adult or functional literacy classes. With increasing attempts made to integrate educational development into the larger development needs of the community or a geographical area, newer concepts such as functional education, and polytechnic education also gained currency and priority. In short, while major areas of action for educational development are identified such as raising literacy, providing functional education for adults, formal schooling for chidlren and youths, and general dissemination of knowledge and skills (2) the quest for more effective rural education programmes continues.

Some basic problems in educational development

Despite the increasing awakening on the part of the people and governments to the utility of education, there are certain ingrained drawbacks that characterize the educational scene in general and that in rural areas in particular.

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Education and the rural community

One major problem is in the area of access to education itself. While education is equally accessible to all children of school-going age in principle, to quote Edgar Faure et al this is "only a necessary – not a sufficient-condition for justice. Equal access *is not* equal opporutnity" (3). There are several socio-economic constraints that provide differential opportunities of access to members of different sexes, caste/ethnic groups and economic classes.

Regarding the difference in access to education based on sex, it is a common phenomenon that has been noted in most under-developed countries. In Africa, Asia, and the Arab States grouped together in 1971, there were 50 per cent more boys than girls in primary schools, and 100 per cent more in secondary schools (4). In Nepal in 1978 there were an estimated total of 3,274,000 children of school going age (6-15 years), of which only 38 per cent were in school. Of this population 29.6 were male students and only 8.4 were girls. Thus for every 100 boys in school in Nepal, there were only 28 girls in school in that year (5).

But the sex-based difference in access to education is not an absolute phenomenon; it is relative to a complex of socio-economic factors mentioned above. For instance in a study done in a town in Nepal in 1973 the caste/ethnic background, economic status and the literacy level of parents were found to be significant in the access of women to education (6). In a sample of population 16 years and above, 71 per cent of males were found to be literate whereas literate females were only 16 per cent. Among the orthodox castes, the Brahmins (locally called Bahuns) and the Chhetris, the two highest groups in the Hindu caste hierarchy which restrict the movements of females to the confines of their immediate homestead and never beyond without surveillance, only 12 and 18 per cent of females respectively were literate. However, in the case of more 'open' ethnic groups, namely the Newars and Gurungs, the percentages were 23.9 and 20.9 respectively. But in the case of the two 'untouchable' castes, namely, the Damais and the Sarkis, the former had 10.4 per cent literate and the latter none at all. In the case of children going to school, the Brahmins and Chhetris sent 27.1 and 22.8 per cent of their female children to school respectively, whereas this proportion among the Newars and Gurungs was 52.5 and 63.0 per cent respectively. In the case of untouchables again, the Damais had 16.7 per cent and Sarkis none at all.

In terms of economic standing of the households, of those earning up to 3.99 rupees (US$ 1 = NCRs. 11.90) per capita per year, only 14.7 per cent of their female children went to school. However, with increasing income the proportion of girls going to school increased with the result that those earning 2000 rupees or more per capita per year sent 88.9 per cent of their female children to school.

Similarly, the literate heads of households sent 72.2 per cent of their female children to school, whereas the proportion for households with non-literate heads was only 21.4 per cent.

It must also be mentioned that while the cast/ethnic, economic and literacy status of heads of households as factors affecting the school-going status of female children intertwined with each other in reality, for the purpose of analysis they were isolated and found to be significant factors. For instance, among the Brahmins and the Newars in

comparable income brackets the proportion of female children going to school differed. While the proportions of Brahmin female children in the two per capita income brackets of Rs. 0-399 and Rs. 2,000 and above, were 6.7 and 50.0 per cent respectively, the corresponding proportions for the Newars were 15.0 and 100.0 per cent.

In sum, there are a host of factors that adversely affect the access of women to education in some socio-cultural settings. If socially it has been long-standing tradition that denied the needed freedom to girls to go to school, in economic terms it is the result of a very rigorous allocation of limited resources in a household; while education of girls requires money for school fees, clothing expenses, books, and pocket expenses, there is no apparent need to educate those who after all would end up being housewives in a family other than their own in future. Furthermore, if literate parents are observed to have sent more female children to school it is indisputably their own change of criteria for priority allocation which permitted the use of some of their limited resources for that purpose. Therefore, while much of the problem of female education is economic, it is not exclusively so. The number of variables involved are many.

The socio-economic differences in access to education are not limited to female children; they also apply to males, even though, as stated above, there is a generally higher priority for sending male children to school than their female counterparts.

To use the same study in Nepal once again, of the six caste ethnic groups represented, the Brahmins, Chhetris, Newars and Gurung, whose cultural norm for their male members is achievement-oriented, have 78.1, 66.7, 79.7 and 80.0 per cent respectively of their male children of school-age in school, whereas the proportions for the culturally handicapped, untouchable Damais and Sarkis were only 30.0 and 27.3 per cent respectively (7). In terms of economic status as a variable, the effect was the same as in female access to education. With higher income status of the household, there was a greater proportion of male children in school (8). In sum, what Gunnar Myrdal called the relationship of circular causation in educational opportunities in the case of South Asia is very much in evidence here (9). The groups which need the education most are the least able to gain access to it.

The second area of weakness is in school attendance, which is used interchangeably with enrolment. In point of fact, however, attendance falls far short of enrolment, with the consequence that many children are left behind in the progression of classes either as repeaters or as dropouts.

One of the most important areas of weakness is related to teachers, whose training and motivation can go a long way in enhancing the quality of educaton in rural areas. But, usually due to the low level of educational attainment in the rural areas, good teachers are not locally available and the rural setting is not the sector that can attract the best of them from outside.

The teachers' deficiency is not only in the area of their training but even more in the area of their motivation. In under-developed countries, certainly in Nepal, where power-related status is frequently an important consideration in the choice of a job, the position of teachers does not happen to be too attractive, especially at the lower levels, and the material rewards do not compare favourably either. In Nepal until very recently,

the district-based nature of a teacher's service did not contribute to a sense of accountability to the local school or the community. Often the community would find the teachers embroiled in political activity, not only to the neglect of teaching, but also causing immature partisan involvement of students.

Education and rural development

Education's role as an indispensable component of rural development has long been established and for this reason it has been one of the primary areas of action in all rural upliftment efforts around the world. The objectives it is charged with include not only material ones in terms of its contribution to the enhancement of productive capacity, but also those non-material ones such as enhancement of civic life, moral life, health, democracy, peace and order. In short, education is looked at as an all-embracing phenomenon which is the primary factor in unleashing an upward spiralling of improvements in a community or in a nation.

However, for the purpose of an agenda of action for a rural development programme, there are several concrete areas of effort to which priority and resources should be committed. The first such need is indeed the improvement of formal schooling both in qualitative and quantitative terms, the former being more difficult to attend to. As Gunnar Myrdal put it, "some of the important goals of educational reform . . . . should be to get children to attend schools more regularly, to enable them to proceed year by year to a higher grade, and to encourage them to stay in school until they complete their primary education" (10). The many socio-economic constraints that prevent children of school age from achieving access to schooling have already been discussed. Therefore, any programming for the enhancement of formal schooling in a rural setting must provide for progressive elimination of those factors to make schooling genuinely accessible to all.

A comprehensive approach to a formal schooling programme such as this embraces many aspects of policy, strategies and programmes which have to be tackled at different levels of planning for educational development. However, the most critical is indeed community action. While the question of the qualitative aspects of schooling are mostly a function of physical facilities, training and incentive structures for teachers, some of which go beyond the effective jurisdiction of a community, the problem of participation of both male and female children can be most effectively dealt with only with the ongoing concern of the community leaders. They can not only engender an orientation of values on the part of parents in favour of education, but can also generate community pressure on them to ensure the participation of their children. This was what was observed when an experiment for free and compulsory primary education was launched in a town in Nepal in 1954-65. Under this program, the town leaders were directly involved in the planning of the experiment and they went about exhorting the parents to send their children to school, even threatening a 10-rupee fine for defaulters. The result was that enrolment made a phenomenal increase and the number of primary schools themselves increased from 7 to 17. With the waning of leadership interest, occasioned partly by internal resource problems and partly by outside factors, three years later,

in 1968, the enrolment dropped by 34 per cent (11). Although this experiment, abandoned in 1971, was short-lived, it nonetheless demonstrated the latent authority of community leaders to increase enrolment, as well as the fact that sustained interest on their part is critically important for a sustained improvement.

Another equally important area of educational development is non-formal education, which is valuable not only for increasing the literacy of out-of-school men, women and youths but also for the transmission of useful skills and know-how essential for promoting employment and increasing productivity in the rural economy. It has been fairly well established that there is a high degree of association between increased literacy and rapid agricultural and industrial development. As Myrdal put it "persons who can understand drafts and directives make better industrial workers than those who cannot; farmers who can perform simple computation and can read newspapers and pamphlets are more progressive cultivators than those not so equipped. The various efforts to organize local planning and self-government and to make the co-operative movement effective are dependent for their success on a considerable diffusion of functional literacy" (12). To quote him further, "it is of paramount importance for development that the underdeveloped countries in South Asia raise the level of functional literacy in their population as rapidly as possible . . . (In Scandinavian countries, Germany and the United States) a remarkably high rate of literacy was attained early in the nineteenth century, and this is commonly assumed to have made possible their rapid industrialization and agricultural modernization" (13).

While non-formal education has the potential to extend literacy as well as useful skills and technologies in a host of rural development fields to the men, women and youths in the villages it needs to be complemented by a number of specific on-going action programmes to maximize its impact. This is so because the know-how, skill or information to be disseminated through a non-formal educational channel is only one of the constituents that make it work. For instance, if a new agricultural practice is to be introduced through this channel, the availability of the information alone is not going to be sufficient; such material support as insecticides, irrigation, marketing or credit have also to be available to put the innovation into practice. Therefore, a programme of non-formal education implies the presence of an integrated approach to development in which the transmission of know-how and information constitutes only a component of the larger whole. Such a scheme then permits the tailoring of the choice of information to the priority needs of the local people.

Complementarity between many sectors cannot always be as neatly established as would be desirable for programming purposes. However, most aspects of development are either directly or indirectly related to each other, and rural people themselves are experienced in sorting out priorities for the use of scarce resources. This is certainly true in the case of realizing the need for education. Such a perception is well summed up in a statement made by a member of a small farmer group under the Small Farmer Development Project in Nepal to explain the increasing popularity of family planning among the group's members. He said, "the reason is primarily scarcity of resources. During my generation we did not know of education at all. When people grew up they always found something to do. Now we have schools and we have to send children to

them. Then you need better clothing, school fees, books etc. These things make it difficult now to afford a large number of children" (14). This was a village where the project had been implemented since 1976 and where, because of the successes experienced by the small farmers under the project, an optimistic and forward looking attitude has taken root in them.

Need for a co-ordinated approach and a framework for co-ordination

The preceding discussion on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of formal education and literacy, and uses of non-formal education strongly suggests that the problems involved are location and group-specific. It also suggests a strong need to establish a relationship of complementarity and co-ordination which other programmes and activities of rural improvement. It is only within the framework of a location and group-specific approach like this that the problem of enhancing participation of women and youth in formal and non-formal education can be satisfactorily addressed. For instance, concerning the participation of female children in the Nepal study cited above, special policies and incentives must be introduced in the programme to counteract the effect of caste-ethnic background and economic status. It is therefore a group specific problem. Similarly, if skill and employment promotion is to be attempted through non-formal education, the problems and potentials of different geographical areas, and occupations must be taken into account; this, therefore, is a location-specific problem.

Given the fact that problems are either location-specific or group-specific, programmes designed to find solutions for them must be planned at the level of the location or the group. Only in this way can a sufficient package of activities be put together to make a desired impact on the problem. To achieve the skill improvement objective of non-formal education, e.g. dissemination of an improved practice of wheat cultivation, the availability of information is not going to be enough; such information should be supplemented by the availability of improved seed, fertilizer, etc. Thus, a packaging of essential elements for achieving a desired result or an impact can be accomplished only by undertaking the planning exercise at that level. Thus integrated planning at the local level is of critical importance for a programme such as this that relies on inter-sectoral co-ordination for success.

Such an approach to inter-sectoral co-ordination also carries a very significant and far-reaching implication for the planning processes of different national agencies in regard to their sectoral programmes nationwide. This issue is particularly intriguing given the fact that while local planning seems to be unavoidable for the solution of problems at the local level, in many countries, such as in Nepal, there also exists a planning system at the national level which generates sectoral targets and resource estimates at the macro level, on a periodic as well as annual basis. At first sight, these planning processes seem to be mutually exclusive. In actual fact, however, this is not the case. Because, if local level planning were to be undertaken on a permeative basis, i.e. with all the local areas, the resource and programme demands generated would far exceed the estimated resource outlay at the national level. Therefore, if such planning at the local loevel could be undertaken sufficiently in advance, then a reiterative process of interaction between the national and local level would not only result in mutually meaningful and consistent identification of programme goals and activities, but also an optimization of benefits accruing

from the use of the scarce resources. Thus, advance planning is the key to the problem (15).

Another implication of local level planning for national sectoral agencies is that they should identify a basic level of planning such as the village panchayat in Nepal, at which level the day-to-day interaction between the people and their leaders ensures a greater measure of accountability of the latter to the former, thus increasing the likelihood of judicious use of resources at that level. Given this kind of assumption about the basic planning level, all levels above it must play the role of support planning.

This does not negate the substantive planning role of any level, however. As a matter of fact, it would be more rigorous than before for two reasons. Firstly, since resources would be scarce relative to demand at any time and since for much of the resource input local areas would depend on the central level, there would exist a strong need for making resource forecasts (an advance planning exercise) before the local level could undertake planning for any given year. Secondly, since, as stated above, there would invariably be a need for the local plans to be kept within the bounds of available resources, a two-way dialogue with the local level would have to be undertaken on a continuing basis.

However, mere wishing about local planning does not make it happen. At least in Nepal, the present practice of planning at the village panchayat level leaves much to be desired; in the name of planning all they do is to come up with a large list of demands every year in their bid to dip deepest into the apparently bottomless pocket of the Government. Therefore, the local planning exercise needs to be backstopped by a substantial support system for this purpose (16).

The first such support will have to be in the area of the planning methodology itself. While integrated planning is the key element, simplified formats should be put to use in order to ensure the demystification of the term "planning" for the local, unsophisticated planners.

Secondly, while it is obvious that the planning exercise should be based on an objective analysis of information pertaining to the socio-economic condition of the village, neither such information nor the capability for analysing it are easy to find. Therefore, here again simple formats for collecting and analysing local information should be developed and a systematic and sustained training programme in using them provided for.

However, sustained planning and development will not be possible without the growth of institutions at the local level. These institutions must not be decentralized agencies of the government, but those of the local people which are competent to plan, implement and evaluate development programmes on a continuous basis. Thus, sustained rural development including the development of education, is a function of institutional development at the local level with ensures people's participation in decision-making for the mobilization and allocation of resources, implementation of programmes, sharing of benefits and evaluation of performance (17).

It must further be recognized that local planning and creation of local institutions do not automatically result in the most judicious and egalitarian distribution of benefits

and resources. Earlier in this paper, it was emphasized that access to education is conditioned by a number of socio-economic differences and inequities which result from the economically and socially stratified nature of societies as well as the differing value systems deriving from those cultural differences. In programmes of economic development such structural constraints on the access to benefits has been very much in evidence, and the fact that programmes such as the Small Farmers Development Programme has been custom-tailored to the needs of small farmers is proof of the need for special interventions if the benefits of development are to be more widely shared by the local people (18). For this reason, a continuous monitoring of the distribution of benefits including those accruing from education development programmes should be undertaken. On this basis new institutional mechanisms should be devised to enable the lower segments of the population to become equal partners in the sharing of benefits.

In the case of the Small Farmers Development Programme it has been found that organizing small farmers into groups who otherwise would have been largely bypassed by development programmes, gave them enough political power and organizational strength to develop and enhance their access to development resources inside and outside the village (19). The implication of such an experience for the development of institutions at the local level is that it is not only a general scheme of decentralization of governmental powers and functions to the lower level that is needed, but also that such attempts must be complemented by a clearcut understanding of the dangers of elitism at the local level.

While a general scheme of decentralization will go a long way in instituting more effective participatory planning and implementation of rural development programmes (including those of educational development) at the local level, this has to be necessarily accompanied by a system of national monitoring of policy interventions to achieve distributive justice on a continuing basis. While benefits such as school lunch, milk, free tuition and free books have to be used as incentives, these have to be used as part of policy interventions by the government in consultation with local institutions. A system of assigning responsibility to local institutions and creating some kind of inter-institution and inter-community competition would contribute immensely to the promotion of education at the local level.

For the purpose of enlisting the participation of out-of-school women and youth in a general scheme of non-formal education at the village level, such a decentralized institutional structure is almost indispensable. It is only in a context like this that the local leadership, under the influence and inspiration of outside normative inputs could come up with priorities for sectors that have lagged behind in local development efforts. This alone will be able to generate a social and resource climate conducive to more widespread educational programmes for the local people including women and youth. This, in short, is a function of a general atmosphere of development and an attitude of optimism, conviction and self-reliance on the part of the local community. So, if the commitment favouring the growth of such a climate could be extricated from the confines of rhetoric and embodied in a more substantive programme of self-reliant development, the groundwork for a steady advance of rural communities on all fronts of development, including education, would have been laid.

Conclusion

While educational development, both formal and non-formal, is one of the most critical components of a programme of development for rural areas, it suffers from the same kind of organizational, socio-economic and cultural shortfalls that have characterized other efforts in the field. In formal education, in quantitative terms, not all children of school age have access to schooling; females have less access than males. In both cases, it is not only economic reasons that keep children away from school; socio-cultural values have also proved a deterrent in this respect. In non-formal education too, while it has the potential to usher in "a learning society" at the village level, the co-ordination and complementarity that it has to establish with other rural development programmes to be effective is immense.

Therefore, to encourage community action in both areas and to have the people participate in the planning process, multipurpose integrated planning and implementation of programmes at the local level is of critical importance. Exposure to multiple channels of developmental information on the one hand, and increasingly satisfying experiences through new-found literacy on the other could lend a momentum of its own to increased community participation in formal and non-formal education. Creating and strengthening local institutions to plan and implement programmes in these areas is essential to ensure the conduct of this process on a sustained basis.

Footnotes

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 1651.
3. Faure, Edgar and others, *Learning to be,* New Delhi, Sterling Publications (P) Ltd, 1973, p. 71-72.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
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8. *Ibid.*
9. Myrdal, *op. cit.* p. 1805.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 1725.
11. Shrestha and Gurung, *ot. cit.*, p. 40-42.
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14. Author's field note, 1979.
15. Shrestha, Bihari K., *Local level planning in Nepal: survey, analysis and general guidelines*, 1981, p. 26-27. (mimeographed)
16. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Shrestha, Bihari K., "Nuwakot District (Nepal)", *The practice of local-level planning, case studies in selected rural areas in India, Nepal and Malaysia*, Bangkok ESCAP, 1980, p. 91-93.

EDUCATION AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

By

Felicita G. Bernardino*

Introduction

One of the nagging questions facing Asian nations today is how to accelerate rural development and whose particular concern is this? What in the rural community needs to be fully harnessed to yield satisfying results? What agencies, both government and non-government, can produce multiplying effects that could have profound implications for the rural people?

What are some of the problems rural communities have to reckon with? Among others are: water management, rural credit, crop improvement, seasonality, and post harvest technology for small scale industries, health needs and health services, relevant education and manpower planning strategies, community participation, leadership and involvement; women and youth roles in various capacities.

How to approach these problems through education constitutes an important question for educational leaders and educators. This is not to say that past efforts have not been effective, for surely much has been done and been achieved. Despite all these efforts, however, much is left to be desired the world over.

The Bulletin of the Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia and Oceania, Number 20 June 1979, referred to the Sri Lanka Conference, which identified four major areas of emphasis in the educational reforms currently being undertaken in the Member States. Briefly stated, these are: (a) the goal of broadening access to education; (b) emphasis on community participation and involvement in the educational endeavour; (c) closer linkages between education, work experiences and transition to the world of work; and (d) the growing role accorded to non-formal modes of education in the context of a new and comprehensive system of educational services.

The Philippines as an active member state of Unesco has since then searched for new and alternative structures to address these concerns of MINEDASO IV and vigorously sought its implementation. But education is lifelong and is for all the people. Learning is a natural process, regardless of age, and schools can no longer meet all learning needs.

Formal schooling for each individual covers only that part of his life between 7 to 24, and only for about 5 to 6 hours a day for around 190 days a year. The in-school youth is actually out of school longer than he is in.

For every 100 who enter Grade I, only around 20 finish high school and less than 10 finish college. Recent statistics show that around 400,000 school children and youth drop out of school every year from all levels. The majority of these children and youth naturally join the ranks of the under-privileged.

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While the Philippines is known to be a highly literate country, in Asia next perhaps only to Japan and South Korea, it is a fact that the estimated number of illiterates is still high (3.9 million) in 1978. This becomes much higher if we make *functional literacy* the gauge, *functional*, meaning the effective application of the ability to read, write and compute in improving one's economic productivity and in increasing one's participation in the social, cultural and political life of the community and the nation at large.

The above only proves that if education is to reach the millions of children, youth and adults who are not in school, non-formal education may be the only effective alternative.

Education

At present the rate of literacy in the Philippines is claimed to be 89.27 per cent, leaving only 10.73 per cent of the adult population illiterate. Most of the illiterates are concentrated in the island of Mindonao where 1.112 million out of 5.175 million children, youth and adults are still illiterate.

Most of these illiterates are poor and cannot avail themselves of the educational opportunities under the formal system. Furthermore, most of them have moved to the urban areas, thus creating problems of employment and other social needs.

Employment and unemployment

Unemployment is related to income levels. The open unemployment rate has fluctuated markedly, with no clear trend in the 50's and 60's and with the downward trend appearing only in the 70's, the most recent figure (November 1979) being only 4.0 per cent. Unemployment is typically worse among the young. The high incidence of unemployment in Manila is due to the squatter population and the educated unemployed.

Income and consumption levels

A poverty line measure that identifies the minimum income level and expenditures of an average family in the Philippines utilizes a *food threshold* and a *total threshold.* The food threshold is a family's minimum cost diet. It consists of the amount of income necessary to buy the "food consumption basket". The total threshold is obtained from the food threshold simply by dividing it by 0.6. For a family of 6 it was estimated that in 1975 the total threshold in the rural areas was P 9,738 per year as compared to P 13,550 in Greater Manila and P 9,844 in other urban centers. With this total threshold criterion, about half of the families in urban areas and about three-fourths of the families in rural areas are considered poor.

Health and nutrition

Communicable diseases and malnutrition continue to be major health problems. Communicable diseases were responsible for 57 per cent of deaths in 1947 and 43 per cent in 1974. These are diseases of a young population and of poverty areas. The plight of the urban/rural poor population is made more extreme by the location of doctors,

who cluster in big cities or join the brain drain to other countries. In 1975, for example, the ratio of persons to physicians was 1,175:1.

Inter-relating formal and non-formal education to enhance the involvement of women and youth in rural development

The need to promote equal access to education, to eliminate disparities and disadvantages associated with rural education and out-of-school education has been accepted by nations through out the world. This emphasizes the role of non-formal education and the contribution of non-professional teachers so that it will not be merely an expansion of traditional and conventional education.

Educational philosophy and educational practice need to change, in order to achieve the proper relationship of education to work and production, basic training, social action, individual and community advancement. Support is needed from appropriate institutions, like resource centers, multi-purpose schools, clubs, and associations, both government and non-government.

Formal and non-formal education each have their own place, but total socio-economic development makes it imperative for both systems to inter-relate, complement and supplement each other and this must start at community level.

In the Philippines, inter-relating formal and non-formal education has been mandated in various decrees and instructions emanating from the Office of His Excellency, the President of the Philippines, as well as from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Foremost among these is Presidential Decree 1139 promulgated on May 13 1977, which created the position of Undersecretary of Education and Culture for Non-formal Education. This is in recognition of the fact that there are millions of out-of-school children, youth and adults who are beyond the reach of formal education and who should be provided with basic education so that they can participate more effectively in national development. The Decree also vests in the Undersecretary the responsibility of establishing linkages with institutions with similar programmes, both government and non-government, to assure effective and integrated implementation of non-formal education programmes.

Letter of Instruction No. 606 directs the Minister of Education and Culture to enjoin all heads of state colleges and universities to organize, expand and strengthen programmes on non-formal education in their respective communities.

Likewise, Letter of Instruction No. 607 enjoins all private schools, colleges and universities, in view of their altruistic and public service orientation, to join with the government to work out programmes for the depressed communities and share with them the expertise and technology which is available in these educational institutions.

To provide the people in the rural areas information on the latest technologies of farming and food production, home industries, community development, nutrition, pollution control, family planning, health services, natural resources conservation and other related matters, Letter of Instruction No. 561 was promulgated creating the

machinery for the implementation of the "Lingap ng Pangulo sa Barangay", a school on the air programme.

Corollary to these legal bases, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a number of Memoranda for the effective implementation of non-formal education programmes. These are:

1. Memorandum No. 225, s. 1977 entitled, "Creating a national committee for non-formal education", the composition of which includes the Under-secretary for Non-formal Education, the Directors of Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education, National Research Center for Teacher Education, Foundation for Youth Development of the Philippines, National Educational Testing Center and the Chief, School Health Programme and Service Unit.

2. Memorandum No. 121, s 1977, "Designation of regional division supervisors and district co-ordinators in-charge of non-formal education."

   These field NFE personnel are tasked to plan, co-ordinate, monitor and evaluate NFE programmes.

3. Department Memorandum No. 181, s 1977, "Organization of pilot centers for non-formal education."

   The centre is designed to serve the needs of *Kabataang Barangay*, out-of-school youths and adults to enable them to develop themselves further, to acquire knowledge and skills for more effective social participation, and to contribute better to society. There are 125 NFE Pilot Centers all over the country and many district centres.

4. Department Memorandum No. 27, s 1978 "Promoting appropriations for non-formal education."

   To facilitate the organization of non-formal education (NFE) classes, the payment of honoraria of teachers and travel expenses of NFE supervisors/co-ordinators, and the purchase of much needed supplies and equipment, all local school boards, (district, provincial and city) vocational schools, colleges and universities are directed to appropriate annually a substantial amount for NFE to meet the needs of the programme.

But issuing decrees, letters of instruction and memoranda is one thing and implementation is another.

There are two segments in our society that have tremendous possibilities for rural development. These are the women and the youth.

In the Philippines, the principle of improving women's economic, social and political status in national life has been formally acknowledged by the government. In recognition of paragraph 46 (n) of the World Plan of Action of the United Nations Decade for Women, adopted at the 1975 Mexico City World Conference, which stipulates as one of its minimum objectives the "establishment of inter-disciplinary and multi-sectoral machinery within government for accelerating the achievement of equal opportunities for women

and their full integration into national life", the President of the Philippines created a National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) headed by the First Lady. The NCRFW primarily works towards the full integration of women in economic, social and cultural development at all levels. Through its *Balikatan* Movement rural women become a thrust of the NCRFW.

Women take part in a number of activities such as: a) planning community improvement projects and activities; b) cleanliness and beautification campaigns; c) nutrition and primary health care; d) welfare projects; e) co-operative movements; f) the green revolution; g) women's brigades in barangays (villages).

The Rural Improvement Clubs (RIC)

A very good example of involving women in rural development is the Rural Improvement Club.

The Rural Improvement Club is a voluntary organization of homemakers having sets of goals and activities geared towards improving family life.

The organization is under the direct supervision of the Home Economics Programmes Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Extension, which has the major responsibility of educating rural families. RICs are organized by BAE Home Management Technicians at the barangay, municipal and provincial levels. The Ministry of Social Services and Development, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education and Culture (NFE), Population Council, and Ministry of Agriculture co-ordinate with them in the various programmes and projects.

The main objective of the RICs is "Better Home for Better Living". There are other specific objectives, like:

1. Give homemakers workable information on the education of children, nutrition, clothing, housing, health needs and financing security;
2. Impress upon its members how to make children responsible citizens of the community;
3. Utilize farm-produce by processing season and surplus products and by-products for family and market consumption;
4. Engage in profitable home industries to supplement family income; and
5. Work together for the improvement of the home community.

Today the RICs play an important role in the attainment of good nutrition — a major national commitment.

RIC members provide leadership roles in running RIC children's centres for 0-72 month-old children in their community. These centres are also designed to serve as laboratories for homemakers to apply knowledge, information and skills in nutrition. They assist in serial weighing of infants and children enrolled in the malnutrition prevention project.

Education and the rural community

The RIC gets involved in the social and aesthetic activities of the community.

Every province has its own provincial RIC council, elected from the presidents of all local RIC's. From the provincial presidents two are elected as a regional board of directors. The 24 regional directors then elect the officers of the National RIC of the Philippines.

A national RIC convention is held every two years to coincide with the election of officers of the national RIC council. In between the two years, a national seminar-workshop is held. Most of the activities are on skill development for income generating projects.

At present, there are 5,526 RICs with 183,426 members. There are 1,846 children's centres with 52,472 children enrolled in the programme.

Activity/Projects	*Objectives*	*Number benefited*	*Est. Cost*	*Co-operating agency*
Malnutrition Prevention Project	To prevent malnutrition among 89,956 healthy 0–18 mos. old infants	89,956	P 1,038,500 NNC/ USAID	BAEX/NNC USAID
Targetted maternal Child Health	To improve nutritional level of 0–72 months old	153,294	Foreign commodities channeled directly to targetted barangays	BAEX/CRS, MA, MEC, MSSD
Food Production and utilization	To raise for home use and to augment family income	242,000	no project	BAEX/MEC, MSSD
Income generating (goat raising, swine chain, chicken dispersal, fan making, craft and embroidery	Develop skills in economic activities for added income to families in support to nutrition	240,593	P 43,000 match Canada assisted and other on voluntary basis	BAEX, MEC, MSSD, MA

The beneficial impact of the Malnutrition Prevention Project is one step in the amelioration of the malnutrition problem in our country. Started in 1975 on a pilot basis, the project has been expanded to cover the whole country. The average weight of an 18-month-old baby in 1975-1976 was 8.24 kgs. Today, it is 8.34 kgs. and about 70.9% of them are in or above Nutritional Level 3. The RIC of the Philippines has contributed to improve the status of the country's children.

National commission on the role of Filipino women

The National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) carries out its action programme to the different parts of the country through the *Balikatan sa Kaun-Laran;* Movement (Shoulder to Shoulder), with government executives giving their enthusiastic support and the private organized sector, especially the women, responding just as enthusiastically. The movement directs itself primarily to human resources development.

The major areas of concern are the following:

1. Conservation:

   To bring about awareness of wise energy use and oil conservation as one of the main concerns to effect national development through *Balikatan;* to learn the proper and conscientious use of all forms for energy; to review Filipino values and way of life and conserve those that are basic to national identity and strength.

2. Care of children:

   To focus attention on the basic needs of children and to optimize community resources so as to meet these needs – physical, mental, and social, – for the total and wholesome development of each child as a person and as a member of the family and the community.

3. Concern for environment:

   To work out a system whereby environmental management may be effected along with technological advancement through dissemination of information and the development of action programmes involving individuals, households and communities.

4. Consumer protection:

   To re-orient the consumer's mind on proper planning, budgeting, purchasing and consumption; to maximize the utilization of resources and the benefits that accrue to the consumer.

5. Commitment to justice:

   To bring justice to those who can't "afford" it by keeping them aware of their rights; to facilitate a more speedy machinery of justice for all those who hunger for it, regardless of economic/social status.

Besides these institutions which may be referred to as part of a national machinery, there are also autonomous institutions/organizations independent from the formal structure. Their overriding commitment is to integrate women into national life in order to improve women's status and women's participation and involvement in development. An example of this is the Civic Assembly of Women in the Philippines. It is composed of about 70 organizations of women. They are representative groups from different professions/organizations on all levels and funded from their own resources, sometimes by donations; they respond to the need and demand of national socio-economic

conditions. These are organizations of women lawyers, doctors, engineers, nurses, medical technicians, farm women, League of Women Voters, etc. They do research, data collection, problem identification, co-ordination and liaison work, organize training and workshops, and give advice to government. They do monitoring and supervising of project legislation for raising the consciousness of women. They are capable of formulating and implementing policies for the advancement of women. They influence policy making on the part of the formal structure. They work for preliminary measures to safeguard women's rights. They influence further participation of women in various ways by helping women air their views. They carry out their activities in different ways which may be direct or indirect.

It is significant that these various organizations have worked in the areas of health, housing, social security, welfare, social justice, social services besides broadening the scope of their own particular organizations in the last decades.

At the grassroots level some of these organizations like the Soroptimists, Women's Clubs, Adult Education and Rural Improvement Clubs, National Community Associations, Puericulture Centres and Non-formal Education groups provide vocational training for girls to enforce traditional female skills and introduce new ones. These organizations try to organize different types of activities where women can develop their capacity to influence the process of change. Concrete examples of these are: 1) the *Balikatan* BAEX/NFE project in San Miguel, Bulacan. About 500 women are engaged in a swine fattening project – *Balikatan* gave the starting capital, while the NFE supervisor and co-ordinator did the spade work gathering women, giving lessons and helping sustain relationships among the women in the community. A very successful project, it plans to go into many other aspects like breeding, butchering, and preserving; 2) the MSSD project on crop production – where a simple family was started on a mongo project assisted by MEC, MA, and now a whole municipality is working on this major project which has helped families have better homes and amenities. There are many examples where RIC members through linkages of formal and non-formal education have achieved much in terms of knowledge, skills, information, behaviour and attitudes development, and are now helping export such articles as crocheted materials, sweaters, blouses, pot holders and embroidery.; 3) In Carmona, Cavite, a group of out-of-school women and girls are working with a group in a resettlement area making dolls, cross-stitched materials, tray mats, napkins, and exporting these through a co-operative to Europe. The MARS Agro Industrial project in Mindoro is worked out by formal and non-formal arrangements.; 4) Women and out-of-school youth are enrolled in NFE Techno-Agro Schools and during their free time they learn swine and poultry raising, animal care, agri-business, making garments and foods, handicrafts, metal craft, wire craft, and homelife. They are given a little capital to start a project.

The usual impediments like lack of time, fatigue, husbands' disapproval, domestic chores and lack of transportation, which sometimes limit opportunities to participate in these programmes are discussed and resolved. Traditional attitudes are discouraged through various monitoring strategies like meetings, radio forum, school on the air, and achievement days. Illiteracy pockets which affect women more then men are attended to by grassroots organizations of women like barangay brigades and barangay women's guilds.

Workshop seminars, listening to school on the air programmes to enhance support to projects, besides developing proper attitudes and behaviour towards one's fellow workers and co-members, are duly attended too.

The evaluation of these organizations based on the impact they have in influencing rural development is a major concern.

Both these formal and non-formal educational techniques greatly contribute to rural development.

Youth organizations and rural development

1. The Future Farmers of the Philippines (FFP) Inc.

The Future Farmers of the Philippines Inc., popularly known as FFP, is a non-profit, non-sectarian and non-political organization composed of students enrolled in agricultural and some types of secondary schools with viable vocational projects. The FFP is an integral part of the agricultural education programme.

Membership in the FFP is open to boys taking up an agricultural education programme and to out-of-school boys.

The organization aims to help make class work interesting and vital to the students; it offers experiences to develop leadership, good character, social abilities, and vocational efficiency among members.

Objectives of the organization are:

a) Foster co-operation and love for work among members;

b) Contribute and help in the conservation of human and natural resources;

c) Promote democratic practices and encourage creative and good leadership;

d) Seek guidance in the selection of wholesome individual and group recreation;

e) Disseminate information on the approved techniques of producing agricultural crops and animal production; and

f) Promote national and international understanding and friendship.

The areas of concern are:

a) Supervised farming;

b) Leadership training programme;

c) Sports and recreational programme;

d) Income generating agricultural projects;

e) Community service programme;

f) Farm management programme;

g) Information dissemination; and

h) Swine/Poultry raising.

2. The Future Agricultural Homemakers of the Philippines (FAHP) Inc.

The Future Agricultural Homemakers of the Philippines, Inc., popularly known as FAHP, is a non-profit, non-sectarian and non-political organization composed of students enrolled in agricultural, fishery and some other types of secondary schools with viable vocational projects.

Membership in the FAHP is open to girls taking up agriculture, fishery, or homemaking. It also extends membership to:

a) Adult members, vocational/homemaking teachers, instructors, supervisors and administrators who act as advisers;

b) Associate members, male/female high school graduates, whose age is less than 21 years; and

c) Honorary members, school officials, parents and girls and outstanding citizens who are interested in the organization.

The organization aims to help make class work interesting and vital to the students; offers experiences that would develop leadership, good character, social abilities, homemaking and vocational efficiency among the girls, and sees to it that they can carry their homemaking experience to their respective homes and communities.

The purposes of the organization are:

a) Promote appreciation of the joys and satisfaction of home and family life;

b) Be worthy members of the home;

c) Carry on the Filipino way of life and retain the priceless heritage of our basic culture;

d) Promote democratic practices and encourage creative leadership;

e) Seek guidance in the selection of wholesome individual and group recreation activities;

f) Create a home environment conducive to the healthy growth and development of all family members;

g) Contribute and help in the conservation of human and natural resources; and

h) Promote national and international understanding and friendship.

The areas of concern are:

a) Education Activities
   i) Scholarship;
   ii) Simple research;
   iii) Articles published.

b) Community Service Projects
   i) Food production;
   ii) Relief work;

iii) Home demonstration;
iv) Offering varied instruction to homes;
v) Sponsoring lectures;
vi) Sanitation and beautification; and
vii) Holding exhibitions.

c) Social and Recreational Activities

i) Participating in literary/musical programmes;
ii) Going on field trips – local/regional; and
iii) Hobbies – raising pigeons, stamp collection, propagating orchids.

d) Earning Projects and Fund Raising

i) Sewing;
ii) Baking;
iii) Handicraft;
iv) Animal raising;
v) Vegetable gardening;
vi) Floriculture;
vii) Catering service; and
viii) Other activities – laundry work, baby sitting, working as a sales girl.

3. Kabataang Barangay – Out-of-School Youth Programme

The KB-OSY Programme is geared towards the development of more than six million out-of-school youths in both urban and rural areas through skills training in industries relevant to the economic development thrust of the country.

It envisions an economically productive, disciplined, self-reliant and socially integrated out-of-school youth mobilized for local and national development.

Some projects of the KB-OSY are the following:

a) In-Plant Training Project;
b) Income Generating Project;
c) Skills Training Project;
d) Placement Services; and
e) Sports Programme.

The In-Plant Training Project is best exemplified by the *Batarisan* initially implemented in Metro Manila. It involved recruitment of qualified OSY's who undergo actual in-plant training in the companies participating in the project. In the initial stage of the in-plant training schedule, *Batarisan* in Metro Manila involved the participation of more than 60 companies which trained a total of 2,452 KB-OSY'S, 40 per cent of whom were absorbed for employment by the participating companies.

The Skill Training Project involved recruitment and training of OSY's in skills which enable them to generate their income or to become self-employed. Skills include handicrafts, tailoring, dressmaking, home arts and related skills.

Education and the rural community

The Income-Generating Project involved the setting up of small businesses which are managed by trained KB-OSY's and from which they can generate their own income. Funding of this small venture is provided by the MSSD as per guidelines agreed upon by both agencies. The Placement Services Scheme involves assistance to KB-OSY's to gain employment. Priority, however, is given to KB-OSY's trained under the KB-OSY's Programme.

The National Manpower and Youth Council and the NFE Office have a Memo of Agreement regarding out-of-school youth and adults. This agreement specifies that NMYC shall train out-of-school youth from the age of 21 and over for high-level technology skills, and the 7 to 21 age level will be the clients of NFE. However, this can not be a rigid rule in as much as there is only one NMYC training center in each region of the country and therefore it is much more convenient to enroll in the income generating courses in NFE which are offered in each province and city center, and in some cases each municipality and district.

Courses in welding, electronics, seaman apprenticeship, refrigeration, electricity, typing, carpentry, masonry, plumbing, wire craft, metal craft, and wood craft are offered, co-ordinated not only by NMYC and NFE but also by agro-technical schools and some colleges and universities. The latter most often give material support like honoraria to teachers and provide materials needed in the different skill courses.

There are many religious organizations and others supported by foreign funds that co-ordinate with NFE in the development of information, ideas and schemes for self-employment and employment in general, e.g. C.F.A., World Education, World Vision, Non-formal Institute of Education of the University of Michigan, ERDA, and Army Literacy Patrol (ALPs) there.

Other youth organizations like the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H Clubs, provincial, municipal and barangay youth clubs work together for various projects that suit their interest and in which they are assisted by both formal and non-formal institutions. The NFE Office, through its centres throughout the country, co-ordinates with KB-OSY activities.

In their totality, the roles women and youth play within their own family, community and nation are not only issues of rural development, but are national and global in scope. Often, these roles are overlooked and the needed support is not accorded, especially in less developed countries and developing countries where funding is scarce.

A greater recognition of these roles in our society is essential.

Inter-agency co-operation

The co-ordination and co-operation of different agencies for rural development is one of the most crucial problems we have to face. In the Philippines, a National Planning Committee for NFE under the Office of the Deputy Minister on Non-formal Education is participated in by heads of various ministries on development like the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, Ministry of Social Services and Development, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Education and Culture, Directors

of Elementary, Secondary, and Tertiary Education, and private organizations like the Foundation for Youth Development of the Philippines, and National Manpower Youth Council. There are also organizations on the local level like provincial, municipal and barangay committees that work hand in hand with workers of the above-mentioned ministries for implementation of programme projects and activities for rural improvement.

The target groups for skill development and employment and upgrading of technology in the rural areas represent a broad spectrum of the population. These have diverse backgrounds and needs. It is important to identify these needs as the basis of planning for programmes. Local initiative and resources should be channeled and considerable attention given to the grassroots level and the clients themselves.

An example is a class of women who learned how to make ham, corned beef, pickled vegetables and eggs, salted fish and shrimp in barangay Poblacion II. The NFE Co-ordinator, Home Economics teachers and Bureau of Agricultural Extension Home-Management technician together with the Ministry of Social Services and Development worker and the Science Education Community Demonstrator made a survey of Poblacion II. The women were interested in these income generating activities, so schedules were made, classes were organized in accord with the time available of the women. Seed capital was provided by the Ministry of Social Services and Development worker from the Ministry's self-assistance programme. Other provisions needed were supplied by the municipal mayor through the municipal council, and the project was started. About 25 women were enrolled for a four week course, and after graduation they continued on their own. Some of these women now have their own projects for home use. About 5 have engaged themselves in producing and selling the commodities that they have learned to make.

There are many other instances where co-operation and co-ordination among other organizations have helped in skill development and employment. The barangay brigades give moral and monetary support by soliciting funds from barangay members and from local leaders for monitoring the projects and in the marketing of finished products. Many non-government organizations help maintain government efforts fore example the Jaycees, Kiwanis Clubs, Rotarians, and Womens Clubs. Literacy projects that contribute to proper understanding of information and ideas are supported by various clubs, the Boy Scouts, Girls Scouts, religious organizations and rural youth organizations.

Lingap ng Pangulo Sa Barangay

There is also a sub-cabinet level committee for *Lingap ng Pangulo Sa Barangay* – the School-on-the-Air Programme of Non-formal Education. This committee is made up of Deputy Ministers of the Ministry of Social Service and Development, Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, Agriculture, Health, Natural Resources, Education and Culture, Agrarian Reform, and Directors of the National Media Production Center. The adviser and consultant of this committee is the Presidential Assistant.

The School-on-the-Air Programme has its own local committee members in the region and provinces. They work together in the preparation of scripts for the broadcast and in the translation of print materials and in the broadcasts themselves.

It is of major importance for all agencies and leaders to realize that the rural people are keenly aware and sensitive to co-operation and co-ordination of agencies. Once they realize that all concerned are working together, they get more interested in the programme and consequently participate better.

Community participation and leadership

The people who have the greatest need for basic education and continuing education are often the hardest to reach and to serve. The reasons are varied. Psychological, economic, social or geographical factors can play their roles. It can be one or two factors or a combination of many factors.

A deeper understanding of the participants, their particular situations, their own assets and possibilities, their reservoir of experiences, their desire for self-fulfillment, their anxieties and scales of maturation should be established.

It is likewise important that the society as a whole accept responsibility for these. Individual citizens must be made aware of the fact that this is their right – that they must take the fullest advantage of the opportunities available, that they must grasp at the chance of increased democratization of access to education to satisfy professional as well as human and social needs and requirements.

For this reason, detailed information about educational opportunities with an effective out-reach programme will be of utmost importance.

In the Philippines, there is a system of representation from the smallest barangay up to the national level. A barangay, which is the smallest socio-political unit, elects officers who govern the barangay. The barangay chairmen or captains are the recognized representatives to the municipal level. The president of the association of the barangay council in the municipality becomes a member of the municipal council elected by the people. In conformity with this representation, the presidents of all municipal barangay councils are members of the provincial/city council and the presidents of all provincial/city councils are recognized further in the national body politic. A programme/project/activity starts from the smallest barangay unit and goes up to the level necessary for implementation. Conversely, any project which emanates from the national government goes through the Presidential Regional Officer on Development (PROD) then to the regional, city, provincial, municipal, and barangay levels.

It is easy to see that people should be given proper information regarding various programmes before involvement and participation and leadership of all concerned can be attained.

In introducing an innovation such as technology, skills or training, all the people in the barangay should be gathered, oriented and consulted on needs and possibilities for strategies of implementation.

One should take time and effort, patience and diplomacy in preparing people in the rural communities for change. Consequently, evaluation and assessment of the progress of any community project contribute to better ways and means of directing the programme.

The rural communities, their developmental attitudes their participation, leadership and involvement is the crux of all success and failure.

All must realize that the power of a nation depends on how the smallest unit of the society functions.

EDUCATION IN AND FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA: PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

By

Kyong-Dong Kim*

Prologue

The following preliminaries are in order to lay out the characteristics of this paper. First, this is not a research paper in nature; rather, it is a critical review and appraisal of the existing issues and problems related to education in rural areas. Second, in examining these issues and problems, this paper will proceed with a larger frame of reference, namely, integrated rural development.

Third, the case in point will be confined to the Republic of Korea, although it is believed that the experience of this country could be shared by many other societies in the region facing similar problems. Fourth, however, the approach of this paper is conceptual and impressionistic in its methodology. Despite relatively numerous research reports available in this field, my contention is that because of their assumptions which are quite apart from the kind of frame of reference and its component assumptions, their utility for this sort of critical, analytic, and conceptual appraisal is limited. Often, it is more fruitful to start with one's own assumptions based on intuition and impressionistic observations, in order that one may be free of any preoccupations implied or suggested in the existing works. This, nevertheless, does not preclude use of any meaningful findings amassed by other social scientists.

With this much background on my approach, I shall now proceed with a critical review of the problems and issues that appear to be crucial to education in rural areas, followed by a conceptual scheme of integrated rural development.

Crucial issues and problems of education in Korea

Understanding of the problems of rural education must be based on a grasp of the thorny issues of education in general. Korea is known to be one of the few Asian countries which have started on the road to rapid economic growth with a fairly well-educated populace.[1] The fact that the general level of literacy and formal schooling is relatively high could have at the same time positive and negative effects. On the positive side, Korea certainly has benefited from it in her pursuit of industrialization and economic modernization. On the negative side, however, education as such has become a difficult problem for the society at large. This has been most dramatically reflected in the series of reforms, quite drastic in nature, initiated by the most recent government. Those problems have been there for quite some time, but because of their complexity involving

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[1] Badgley, John, *Asian development: problems and prognosis*, New York, Free Press, 1971.

almost every aspect of society, no previous governments have been able to take such a radical step.

To enumerate every problem and elaborate on each would be much beyond the scope of this paper. In a nutshell, they may be summarized as follows: first, the quantitative increase of school age population in the past decades has caused a shortage of schools, classrooms, teachers, and other educational facilities. This, no doubt, has affected the quality of education at all levels of primary, secondary, and higher education. Nonetheless, the pressure has been felt most acutely by urban primary schools, on the one hand, and colleges and universities on the other.

As for urban primary education, the pressure has been mainly in terms of the shortage of physical facilities and teaching staff, because of the universal compulsory system applicable through the sixth grade. Rural schools, by contrast, have experienced a trend of shrinking number of school-age children, thus the luxury of having to run often half empty schools with scarce children. With respect to the pressure on institutions of higher education, it has primarily been in the form of severe competition for entrance examination, particularly in the more prestigious universities in Seoul, the capital. These are of course closely related issues.

Interestingly, intervening between these two is the problem of rapid urban growth and urban concentration of population and social-cultural functions. While the problem of urban school congestion in primary and, to an extent, in secondary education has been a result of urbanization, the problem of higher education has been one of the most serious causes of urban concentration. In order to understand and analyse the problems of rural education, then, one must be aware of these complex processes and factors. For the immediate purpose of this paper, it is not necessary to dwell on the population pressure on the primary and secondary schools in the city. It is the pressure for college education, however, that cannot be left out of consideration, for a reasonable grasp of the situation and its background.

As has been suggested in passing, one of the most tricky issues facing rural education, both on the primary and secondary levels, has been identified as the decrease in the number of students and the subsequent decrease in the number of teachers. Both of course have been caused by the sharp and rapid rise in rural out-migration of population in the past couple of decades. Not only do many schools have vacant classrooms, but many have to run classes for different grades simultaneously in a few limited classrooms. Moreover, despite the availability and even legal obligation for universal free education at the primary level, some farm families have to detain their school age children on the farm for various chores and farm work, especially during the peak farming season. This, in part, is a reflection of the serious labour shortage in the agricultural sector.

The whole question, therefore, comes back to the issue of urban migration. As has been repeatedly ascertained in migration studies,[2] the selectivity of migration has usually favoured younger population. In other words, people in their late teens, twenties, and early thirties have formed the majority of rural out-migrants. The strongest motivation

[2] There are some studies on this subject in Korea, but ore most recent study has in it a bibliography. See Lee, On-Jook, *Urban-to-rural return migration in Korea*, Seoul, Seoul Natonal University Press, 1980.

for rural exodus, then, has been attainment of more and better education, which in turn is regarded as the best way to obtain a gainful and better paying, more prestigious occupation, in the city. This phenomenon could readily be explained by the nature of broader socio-economic change taking place in the larger society.

One of the most relevant explanations offered thus far may be found in what is called the "bridgehead" theory and the dual structure hypothesis.[3] Essentially, what this tells us is that when a society with a strong and deep-rooted traditional structure and orientations embarks on a sudden process of modernization, with the primacy of economic growth, the structure of society takes on a dual nature, leaving distinctly divergent sectors apart from each other. That is, while the modern, advanced sector involving manufacturing industries and social overhead, large-scale enterprises, and other urban-based activities, usually under the protection and encouragement of the urban-industrial oriented government, would move ahead rapidly, the traditional sector of agriculture and small-scale industries would tend to be left behind, largely neglected by the same urban-industrial-centred government planning. Thus, a sort of bridgehead is created in the modern, advanced sector where any aspiring young person could find a source of social and economic advancement in life. In order to get ahead in this context, the best way is through education. Even within the educational sector, of course, there may develop a bridgehead as well.

It has been repeatedly ascertained in various social surveys that a majority of people, urban or rural, would like to send their children through college (see Table 1).[4] Furthermore, it is the more prestigious elite universities that every eligible youth would aspire to enter. In a most recent national sample survey of 1,420 adults, 69.2 per cent expressed

Table 1

Education aspirations among the Korean people (%)

	1977			*1980*
Level of Education Desired for sons	*Urbanites*	*Rural Returnees*	*Rural Natives*	*National Sample*
Through High School	2.3	5.5	6.2	3.9
Through College	62.8	63.4	67.1	64.2
Through Graduate School	33.0	29.7	25.3	29.5
Level of Education Desired for Daughters				
Through High School	19.7	25.5	27.4	17.0
Through College	63.8	56.6	59.6	66.7
Through Graduate School	13.3	14.5	13.0	12.3

[3] Dore, Ronale, *The diploma disease education, qualification and development*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif., University of California Press, 1976.

[4] The data for this table are drawn from Lee, On-Jook, *op. cit.*, for the 1977 figures, and from a recent survey of education by the Institute of Social Sciences, Seoul National University, for the 1980 figures. Besides these, most studies would find the same or similar results on this particular phenomenon.

their desire to send their children to Seoul National University, the elite school in this country. Obviously, people tend to believe, with good reason, that in order to get ahead in society, one needs to go to college, the best if at all possible.

The reason for the belief that one has to go to college, and the better one if one can, is found in the prevalence of major university graduates in the most prestigious or better paid jobs in society. It is the common sense that a great majority of high ranking officials in the government, lawyers and professors of universities and colleges and the like, are Seoul National graduates, followed by those from a couple of the more prestigious private universities in Seoul. Centralization of important socio-political and economic functions in the large urban centres is reinforced by this concentration of manpower from certain limited numbers of major universities located in Seoul and other large cities. Of course, the kinds of job listed above occupy the top in the hierarchy of social evaluation of occupations in this country. Whether it is a national adult sample or a sample of industrial workers and managers, the above listed occupations enjoy the highest prestige and income according to the subjective evaluation of the subjects (see Table 2).[5]

Besides the explanation of more immediate relevance offered in terms of the bridgehead hypothesis, Korean culture is known to have cherished both learning and professional occupations traditionally. The unusual emphasis placed on education has never ceased to exist even through the turmoils of colonialism, liberation, independence, war, and most recently industrialization. Rather, it has been constantly reinforced by the increased number of applicants competing for the limited seats in the colleges. The most serious form in which this competition has affected the whole fabric of society has been what is generally known as the "extra curricular" study boom. To prepare for the severe competitive entrance examination to college, and particularly to the prestigious universities, one almost cannot help sending his high school children, and recently even primary school children, to special groups for study under exceedingly expensive tutorship to prepare for the examination. This practice has become so widespread that any parent who could or could not afford it has had to go through the process lest he fail his children in their pursuit for "success". Once you pass the college entrance examination to one of the more prestigious schools, you are almost assured to be on the way to the promised land of success. The burden has not only been tremendous financially, but the distortion caused in the regular educational system has been so deeply entrenched that the most recent government decision to eradicate this whole mess has been more than welcome by everyone – parents, teachers and students – involved.

The impact has been serious. The school has become only an auxiliary establishment to go through to get the diploma; more money and effort has been spent on these extra curricular study programmes. The teaching job has become colourless and unpopular except for those equipped with the kind of skill that could attract students who need the special programme of study. Many teachers eventually left school to become full-time tutors or lecturers in the institutions specifically established for the purpose of preparing

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[5] For the occupational evaluation data, see Kim, Kyong-Dong, "An empirical test of the functional theory of stratification: Korean workers' occupational evaluation", *Korean Sociological Review*, 2: 1-20, 1978; and Kim, Kyong-Dong, "The perceived opportunity structure: analysis of occupational evaluation", *Social Science and Policy Research*, 1 (3): 63-76, December 1979. (in Korean).

for the college entrance examinations. Students have had to spend many extra hours in these study groups or institutions, thus suffering from physical and psychological burdens and pressures. Parents have had to squeeze out their family budget for the expenses. So goes on the list of the negative impacts of this type of zeal for "education".

Table 2

Occupational evaluation by Korean workers and occupational preference by Korean adults

Occupation	*Evaluation Ranking*				*% Preferred for Children 1980*
	Prestige		*Income*		
	1967	*1978*	*1967*	*1968*	
Congressman	1	1	1	2	4.9[1]
College Professor	2	3	7	6	11.4
Lawyer	3	2	5	4	9.5
Company President	4	4	2	1	9.6[2]
Physician	5	5	4	3	12.6
Social Worker	6	6	8	8	3.2
Priest Clergy	7	9	13	14	1.6
Radio-TV Producer	8	8	11	9	
Military Officer	9	10	9	12	3.8
Newspaper Reporter	10	7	12	10	1.1
Teacher	11	11	15.5	13	2.9
Performing Artist	12	13	3	5	
Government Official	13	12	19	18	8.4[3]
Engineer	14	14	10	11	5.1
White-collar Worker	15	16	14	15	
Wholesale	16	17	6	7	
Policeman	17	15	21	20	0.3
Nurse	18	18	20	19	
Skilled Worker	19.5	20	18	21	
Driver	19.5	19	17	16.5	
Retailer	21	21	15.5	16.5	
Miner	22	24	22	23	
Factory Worker	23	23	23	24	
Farmer, Fisher	24	22	24	22	1.1
Labourer	25	25	25	25	

Source: See footnote 5 in the text.

Note: 1) Politician; 2) industrialist, Manger; 3) high-ranging official

It is in this broad context of the problems of education in the country that we now could have a better comprehension of the issues of rural education. Before we look into the matter more closely, however, let me consider the concept of "integrated rural development" and the role of education in this process.

Integrated rural development and education

Integrated rural development, I have earlier suggested, entails several essential characteristics, largely conceived in terms of ideal goals.[6] This goal-oriented approach is taken on the ground that development as a generic concept is a value-laden concept.[7] First of all, integrated development is a comprehensive change. It is to enhance change in the social, economic, cultural, and political spheres. It should involve all segments of the community system. Second, it is a balanced change. It must encourage change in all of the strata, sectors, and regions of the society, at an even or similar pace within the community as well as among the communities in the larger society. Third, integrated development, it follows, is to be a change with meaningful linkages among these diverse strata, sectors, and regions. All of the above, of course, require a co-ordinated and concerted effort at development. And finally, on a different dimension, it calls for active voluntary participation by the members of the community and the larger society.

Korea, historically, has been an agrarian society, and today many of its social, structural and cultural ramifications are still intact. The mass of the peasantry, while having been the mainstay of the productive force, seems to have always been the most suffering element of the society. They were exploited by the ruling gentry class in the pre-modern era, and again by the Japanese colonial authorities during the pre-war period. The war of 1950-1953 and the hasty recovery from its aftermath left the rural sector in a backwater, after independence. The Sixties were marked by a frantic attempt to industrialize the economy, and in fact Korea accomplished remarkable growth in this and the subsequent decades. The initial impact of rapid industrialization and economic growth favouring the urban-industrial sector, however, has been rather negatively felt by the rural sector. The policy for rapid economic growth has concentrated on industrialization led by the manufacturing sector, which in turn was supported by a tremendous rise in exports. In the heat of this growth the agricultural sector and rural areas have once more been left behind. It took a while before the economy as a whole had improved its capacity to afford independent attention to the rural sector, in the form of what is known as the *Saemual Undong* (the New Community Movement).

I shall not make any specific reference to this particular rural development programme, except for its educational component. Whatever its pitfalls and shortcomings, this movement is believed to have brought about a great deal of change in rural communities in Korea. Nevertheless, my doubt as to the effectiveness of its educational component cannot be easily erased. This may not be due to the programme itself. Rather, I would call our attention to the general issues of education in the society as a whole, as has been

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6 Kim, Kyong-Dong, "Toward a theory of integrated rural development: a humanistic perspective", *Social Science Review* 2: 101-117, December 1977.

7 Kim, Kyong-Dong, "Toward a sociological theory of development: a structural perspective", *Rural Sociology*, 38 (4):462-476, Winter 1973.

lengthily covered earlier. In fact, despite some success in bringing about certain meaningful socio-economic changes in the rural sector, the movement has not been able to overcome the barrier of urban-oriented educational aspirations among the rural populace and the inertia of the formal system of education geared to such aspirations.

As long as the educational system of the country itself remains oriented to such a direction, little can be expected in terms of improvement of rural education for integrated development. Unless there appears an overall regional development plan, conceived in the larger context of national development, rural education is going to continue to suffer from poor quality and irrelevance to the needs of the rural populace. In a recent study of return migrants to rural areas, it has been ascertained that the more and better educated and better skilled returnees from the city are having tremendous difficulty in re-adapting. The kind of education they have gained in the city, that they have aspired to so dearly, is of little use to them in their effort to settle down in their rural place of origin. Instead, they are still eager to move out again if there is a chance to do so. Many of these youngsters left their rural home to get better education in the city, because they saw little use in their education in the rural communities for their career. But having obtained an urban education and having had some difficulty in adapting to the urban milieu, when they decide to come home and reorient their career, they regret their outmigration and return. Education in a sense has become an obstacle to their adaptation back home.

This is not to deny the usefulness of general education, particularly at the primary level, in raising the consciousness and the level of receptivity to innovation in agricultural techniques and the general mode of living. Nobody dares doubt the positive effect of education on national development in general and rural change, in particular. In fact, a recent sample survey has clearly revealed that people believe that education has contributed to rural development.[8] Yet, educational development not conceived in terms of the general goals of integrated development is going to face severe obstacles, especially in the rural sector. In other words, educational development must be included in the programme of rural development conceived in the broader framework of social, economic, cultural, and political transformations and improvements.

The kind of question to be raised is not only "Education for what?" but also, "What change is needed for better education in the rural sector?" This is where the ideals of integrated rural development understood as a balanced change, with linkages all around, must be taken seriously. As long as the growth policy is primarily oriented to the urban-industrial sector, as long as this kind of policy orientation encourages concentration of important social, economic and cultural functions in the cities, especially in the larger metropolitan centres, and as long as the national and community development programmes place undue emphasis on the economic aspect, then educaton in general and rural education in particular is going to suffer the consequence.

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[8] In this survey by the Institute of Social Sciences, Seoul National University, more than 9 out of 10 teachers under study believed that education has contributed to economic growth, while slightly more than 7 out of 10 of them recognized its role for rural development.

Problems of rural education

No one would argue with the notion that some education is better than no education. We have seen the consequence all around the world throughout the history of mankind. However, the question still can be raised as to what kind of education is not very helpful for certain kinds of people in a given situation. It is not only the kind of education attained in the city that is almost a hindrance to the urban-rural returnees. The general education in rural areas may have the same effect and that worries many concerned intellectuals.

Primary education in this country being a compulsory, universal education, contains an element which may be the source of failure in this particular sense. The awakening function it plays may be laudable in one sense, but viewed from another angle, it can be of no help to the growing rural children. Most of what they learn in the classrooms and from the textbooks merely raises the children's aspiration to leave the farm and pursue some prestigious urban career. It is basically biased and to a large extent irrelevant to the life one may want to lead in the rural sector. This question of relevance is a most serious one which has not been given the serious attention it deserves.

This bias is further boosted by the career orientation of the teachers themselves. With a few exceptions of devoted teachers whose cases are only worth noting as newspaper feature articles to boost their morale, most rural school teachers would like to move out to the city at the first chance they can get. The life of waiting cannot fail to reveal itself in the everyday conduct of classrooms and daily living. They are "guests" in the rural communities who need special attention so that they will stay longer than they want to. They also, in a way, are the victims of the unbalanced change in the society at large. Their incentives are limited, life's excitement and hope for the future are circumscribed, and their morale is low.

No wonder one constantly finds a lower level of academic achievement among the rural children, according to expert studies. The quality of education is the second issue that comes to the fore. As one can imagine, rural schools are losing clients constantly. One surprise that we found in our rural migration survey was the listing of so many urban-rural return migrants in the Residential Registration Records kept in the local offices. To our disappointment, however, it was disclosed later in the field work that many of these return migrants had never left the community in person; only the migration was recorded on paper. These were the families which changed residence, on paper, to be able to send their children to the city schools. Once their children were officially transferred to the urban school, then the records of the family were returned to the place of origin, where the family actually still lived. As the size of classes shrinks, these rural schools cannot afford to request large budgets from the government. Classrooms are left empty but the supply of teachers is short, equipment for education is limited, different grades must be mixed in one classroom, and the quality of education declines.

On top of this general problem of the educational system itself, many rural parents must as mentioned earlier, detain their children for farm work and other chores during the peak farming season. And the absenteeism certainly does not help raise the quality of education. Whoever has been left behind in the rural schools, then, is usually the child of

those families which cannot afford to move out to the city, mainly due to poverty and lack of skills. These children are not only left behind but also are left helpless with little incentive for education on their part. To them, farming may seem to be the only source for their livelihood but also the source of their chronic poverty and despair. Thus, either they take off as soon as they can manage, or they stay on the farm but leave the school.

At this juncture, one may quickly refer to secondary education, and specifically technical training in the rural schools. If the above picture of rural education principally represents the conditions of primary schools, it also applies to some extent to secondary education in rural areas. Conditions may not be as bad as those of primary schools, but the problems are similar in nature. To begin with, the number of middle and high schools is limited in rural areas. The more serious problem of secondary schooling is that despite further education, it does not help the youth in the arena of employment. At least, primary education is compulsory and universally provided. But from then on, one must be able to afford to send the children to school on one's own. Thus, the absolute number of school-age youth in the middle and high schools diminishes. This problem is more serious for the middle school or from the seventh to the ninth grades, because three additional years of schooling in general subjects has little relevance to employment. Either one goes to middle school merely to get some more education or one regards it as a stepping stone to go further, eventually to college after high school or the tenth through twelfth grades.

How useful is high school education, then? Once again, high school is meaningful mostly for further education through college. It is on this level of secondary education that some technical training is offered. Nevertheless, the kind of technical training needed by the rural youth for employment and a lasting career in the rural communities is restricted to the very small portion of agricultural high schools. Even if one graduates from a technical high school other than an agricultural school, such as engineering or other industrial schools, it does not help employment in the rural area, because rural communities simply do not have a sufficient industrial base to absorb them. Therefore, one is most likely to have to leave the farm for gainful employment. If one is to leave the farm for some urban occupation, then one may as well leave home early and go to technical schools in the city rather than go through disadvantageous technical training in the backward rural schools.

As for agricultural high schools, the prospect is not any better. There are larger and better qualified agricultural high schools in the city, and again if one has to go to town for further education, one would like to go to a general academic high school from which one is more likely to be better prepared to take off to college than from an agricultural high school. In an earlier study of vocational high school education, we found that still the large majority of students in the vocational high schools, whether technical or agricultural, wanted to go on to college.[9]

Although it would do grave injustice to the technical and agricultural education on the secondary level to dismiss its relevance completely, one still is left with the impression

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[9] Kim, Kyong-Dong and Hae Young Lee, *Vocational education and occupation*, Seoul, Population and Development Studies Centre, Seoul National University, 1970.

that the utility is quite limited. This may be caused by the substance and quality of agricultural education to an extent, but the more serious source of this irrelevance may be the attitude prevalent among the students themselves. Many of them go to technical or agricultural high schools not because they are devoted to the training and eventual employment in the appropriate fields, but becuase they either were poor achievers in the middle school and could not proceed to the more prestigious academic high schools, or they had to forego further general education due to the inability of their family to afford such further education. Even in the latter case, which implies the necessity to seek employment as soon as high school training in the technical or agricultural field is completed, the desire on the part of the students themselves or the parents who have to send their children to the less prestigious technical schools is for college education. Thus, the vicious cycle of high aspirations for education for a better career, which calls for better academic preparation on the secondary level, which in turn requires better primary school training, which also can be found in the larger city, and so on continues to affect the quality of education in the rural sector.

Such being the case, it is almost useless to speak of improving rural education for sustained improvement of technology in rural areas without reference to the broader and more deep-rooted issues of education in general and technical-agricultural education in the rural sector in particular. My observation now will focus on the agenda for change in rural education in this broader context and in the wider framework of integrated rural development programmes.

Required changes in and for rural education

In considering changes in rural education as an integral component of integrated rural development, the first and foremost issue to be tackled is the question of *relevance.* This issue of relevance has two aspects to it. On the one hand, rural education must be reoriented to inculcation of values and aspirations among the youth, wherein they could come to cherish their rural origin and a future in the rural sector. The excessive emphasis placed on the urban-industrial mode of life in formal and non-formal education, including the textbooks, mass media, and even the orientations and attitudes of the teachers, must be systematically attenuated, and the stress should be shifted to the value of rural life, with due changes in it appropriate to the coming age of urban-industrial life on a national and even world scale. With the advancement of industrialization, one could expect further reduction in the gap between the urban and rural sector. Yet, rural communities are going to survive, in which the youth must be able to see their future and happiness of life, without necessarily having the desire to move to the city.

This alone would not of course be sufficient to hold back every youth in the rural community. But for those who remain and seek a better life there, education now must have relevance in a different sense. In order to make any integrated rural development programme effective and meaningful, identification of the needs and resources within the rural populace and communities must precede any action programme. This requires a certain level of awareness and consciousness among the rural people of their own needs, problems, issues and possibilities. It is in this connection that rural education, both formal and non-formal, should be understood and improved. Often, for example, introduction of a new technology or other agricultural methods, family planning devices,

health programmes and the like, proceeds on a wrong premise, perceived and conceived by the outside experts with their own preoccupations and predilections. These programmes thus fail to elicit co-operation from, and sometimes even cause unnecessary suspicion among the rural people whom they intend to help. Raising this type of consciousness is related to the first kind of relevance discussed above, and both of these require reorganization of educational programmes specifically intended for the rural community and its development. What is needed in both cases is diversification of second-order goals, substance, and methods of educational programmes or curricula for both the formal and non-formal sector.

Second, not unrelated to the above issue, is the need to raise the quality of education in the rural sector. If the youth are to think of and plan their future, one of the first and most important factors brought under consideration should be the kind and nature of education they can get in their home community. As long as the quality of rural education remains as low as it has been, they would certainly be inclined to seek the better education offered in the city. Once it is evident that the quality of education one can expect in the rural community is at least equal to what is provided in the city schools, then, with the degree of relevance considered, one would be likely to stay and pursue a career of education and employment in the rural sector, foregoing the risk of out-migration and adaption to the city.

Third, still related to both of the above issues, is the question of teaching staff. As has been analysed earlier, many rural teachers are not from that area and they are likely to remain in the rural schools because they may be disadvantaged in terms of qualifications as well as motivation. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to expect the quality of education in the rural schools to improve, and its relevance to increase.

If these considerations are rather confined to the formal aspect of rural education, the whole issue also bears upon the non-formal aspect as well. For instance, perhaps with the exceptions of such programmes as agricultural extension services and family planning for adult population, one of the most influential educational media has been mass communication. And this particular form of educational media has severely discriminated against the rural populace in most important areas. Because of its urban-oriented programmes, mass communication has suffered from a lack of relevance to the daily lives of people and has also instigated motivations primarily oriented to the city life. In a survey of migrants and natives, it has been found, for example, that rural natives are most strongly urban-oriented in their outlook on life, compared with out-migrants still in the city or the return migrants. And it happens that the most influential factors affecting this particular attitudinal tendency are education or formal schooling and mass media contact.

Another example may be found in the role of school teachers in rural development. As has been mentioned, as long as the teachers themselves consider rural teaching as a stepping stone or a side track, hopefully leading to prestigious urban teaching, and as long as they generally lack a sense of identification with the community or its members, it is hard to expect them to get involved actively in rural development programmes. Furthermore, the feeling of alienation may be mutual and this in turn further restricts their involvement. Indifference on the part of teachers as a sort of elite in the community is

of no help in raising the degree of relevance and quality of non-formal education in the rural sector.

Still dwelling on the non-formal aspect of rural education, one also finds acute lack of interest in the training of rural development personnel on the local level. Despite the awareness that local indigenous leadership is a crucial spearhead for rural development, through the experience of the *Saemaul Undong*, and despite the importance of leadership training programmes under this movement, its effectiveness and local relevance can be reviewed for improvement. What is more needed is some form of local leadership training programme with the kind of youth who have returned from the city after a painful experience of adaptation to the city, with more education and better skills.

While these may be the epitome of problems and issues of rural education that need to be resolved one way or another, suggestive of the needed changes *in* rural education, these changes are not isolated ones separate from broader contextual changes required *for* the improvement of rural education. To begin with, the national educational system, in its format and substance, should be reoriented and diversified to meet the divergent needs of people in different regions, in addition to the general education. Next and most important is the kind of change in the rural sector itself, made in such a way that rural communities are not only livable but better suited for a happy life, if at all possible. This will not merely retain students but teachers as well, and perhaps could also attract better and more students and teachers to the rural community. This indeed is the question of integrated rural and national development.

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